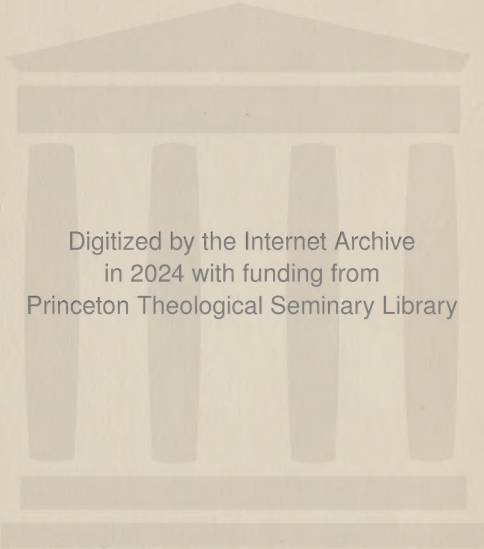


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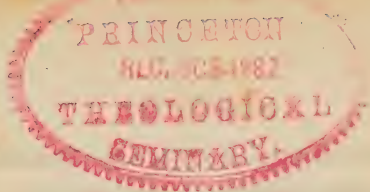
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“To banish, imprison, plunder, starve, hang, and burn men for religion, is not the Gospel of Christ: it is the Gospel of the Devil. Where persecution begins, Christianity ends. Christ never used any thing that looked like force or violence, except once; and that was to drive bad men out of the temple, and not to drive them in.”—JORTIN.

1835.

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PREFACE.

THE pope of Rome has recently honoured the United States of America, and shown the deep interest he feels in this country, by the appointment of an ecclesiastical ambassador, a legate with plenary powers to manage the cause of Romanism in the new world. This high officer of the church and state of Rome, has expressed his gratitude and loyalty by appearing before the public, (at Baltimore,) as the apologist and defender of the Inquisition.

The order of the Jesuits is restored, and, so far as we know, without any change in its constitution and character. The Romish missionaries to this country are mostly of the order of Jesuits; for it is said by American citizens who have wintered at Rome, that the Jesuits who come there for commission and patronage, are specially ambitious of appointments to this country. They regard our country as an open field, where they may pursue their schemes without molestation, and with entire

success; where they may profit by the toleration enjoyed under our mild and free institutions.

Here, then, we have the order of the Jesuits rising and spreading over the fair face of our country, encouraged by vast importations of the least desirable classes of Roman Catholics from the old kingdoms of Europe, and supported by the joint patronage of the Society de Propaganda and the Catholic monarchs of the old world. These sworn servants of a foreign potentate have as a leader an avowed defender of the inquisition.

These emissaries are true to their patrons and their mother church. They defend her infallibility, and of course, must maintain her supremacy, and promote (in a prudent way,) all her doctrines and institutions. They believe that her intolerance of all modes of faith but her own, is for the glory of God and the good of the whole world; and, holding her infallibility, they must, of course, defend the machinery by which she has, in former ages, carried out her spirit of intolerance against those who have dared to think and speak for themselves in the interpretation of the Scriptures. This is the *capital feature* of the Romish church: *she is bound in conscience, not only to establish her-*

self, but also, (according to her ability and opportunity,) to drive every other mode of faith from the earth. This results directly from her claim of infallibility; and her infallibility is the key-stone of the arch on which she rests.

The practical effects of the Catholic religion, in the hands of these agents of the pope, will be the same in our country as they are in the old world, only they must be more slowly disclosed, and defended with caution. The time, however, has already come, when a citizen, even a senator, may be knocked down in the street of Cincinnati as boldly as in the street of Rome, unless he takes off his hat to the bishop's procession of the host; only it must be done by a volunteer member of the bishop's *civil* procession, instead of an armed soldier of the pope. It is better to begin with our citizens by a civil knocking down, and then they will the more patiently receive it when it comes, in the name of religion, from a military corps of honour. There is nothing like a gradual initiation to a new order of things. Our new legate, before he was clothed with his present office, is supposed to have commenced, at Charleston, the example of Catholic priests becoming honorary members

of military companies. Recently, the experiment has been made of connecting military evolutions and parade, and a little use of gunpowder with the ceremonies and worship of the Catholic church; and the officiating priest supposed it to work well. It is an easy way of bringing the people to acquiesce in the true old idea of "a church militant."

We do not complain of these things: they are as they should be, if we must have the experiment of Romanism made in our country. They put the issue between these foreign priests and the Protestant citizens of America on the right ground. The question to be settled is this: Is the Romish intolerance, with the machinery by which it has been and must be propagated, a desirable gift from the old to the new world? These foreign gentlemen think it is. What do the American people think?

In view of this question, the present is the right time for a popular history of the inquisition, one of the favourite instruments of the Romish church for the preservation of the faith by the destruction of heretics. Such a history is contained in the manuscript now before me. It will be found admirably adapted to the capacity of the youthful

readers of this country. The author, or compiler, as he modestly styles himself, has been favourably known to the public in numerous small volumes and papers addressed to our youth, while he has uniformly refused to be known by name. Whether this concealment arises from a modest distrust of his abilities, (in which view of himself he must be alone after the publication of this volume,) or whether he is preparing to give his name to the world in connexion with some larger fruit of his literary labours, are questions in which the public are not specially interested. But to us it is well known that few men have enjoyed better opportunities for making a fair estimate of the institution described in his glowing and patriotic pages. Nurtured in the air of civil and religious freedom, and educated in the schools of his own country, he has traversed the broadest oceans, and dwelt long in Roman Catholic countries, where his minute observations of the civil and moral influences of Romanism, satisfied him that liberty and happiness could never be the portion of the people who had yielded themselves to its influence. Without a personal connexion with any one communion, he has employed his pen to shed light on the question, whether the

machinery of the Catholic church is adapted to bless our country, or whether it is not another Trojan horse, introduced under pious pretences, to subvert our institutions, and give to falling Rome one more triumph over civil liberty?

Whether or not the author has given a faithful narrative, may be proved by reference to the list of works published in the commencement of the volume; and nothing is more his desire than that the publication of this little volume should lead to a thorough study of the history of the inquisition. The student of ecclesiastical history will, of course, ascend to the sources of knowledge on this subject; and he will find in Limbarch and other learned writers, a rich reward for the toil of laborious research. But a cheap, convenient manual, to which all may have access, is greatly needed in this country, and if we are not much deceived, the present volume supplies that desideratum.

The American field is open to the Roman Catholic as well as the Protestant. Universal toleration is the glory of our free country, and therefore every question in religion is to be brought before the people for their decision. So let it be. The question is to be tried whether the people can be

trusted with religious freedom. We rejoice to live while the experiment is in progress; we have great hope of the result; and our motto is, *give the people light*. Let not intolerance be met by intolerance, but let the true character and tendency of the Romish church be made known by a faithful history of what, in the exercise of her infallibility, she has done in past ages. Let her work in South America be compared with the work of Protestantism in North America; and then if our free citizens can be brought to relish popery, it will go far to prove that they are unworthy of their fathers, and that civil and religious liberty cannot dwell permanently in any part of the world.

C. MASON,

Pastor of Cedar-street Church, New York.

March 3d, 1835.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE following History of the Inquisition has been compiled from a variety of books upon the subject, and the author feels himself in candour bound to state, that he has made the freest possible use of the labours of others; whose works, however, he has carefully read, adopting with perfect unreserve, wherever it was practicable, the very words used by them; for which he has not deemed it necessary, as this book is intended chiefly for youthful readers, to cite the authorities, though in almost every instance he could easily have done it, because the readers for whom he chiefly writes would not have been benefited by such a plan; and the work itself would only have been encumbered by the addition of, perhaps, several hundred references.

A list of the principal books read and made use of by the author, is here annexed:—

Limborch's History of the Inquisition.

Records of the Spanish Inquisition from original MSS.
in 1828.

Histoire de l'Inquisition de Goa, which is an abridg-
ment of—

Dellon's History of the Inquisition of Goa.

Llorente's History of the Inquisition.

Puigblanch's Inquisition Unmasked.

Stockdale's History of the Inquisition.

Geddes's Tracts.

Pignata, Les Aventures de, Echappe des Prisions de
l'Inquisition de Rome.

M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Italy.

Bower's Account of the Inquisition at Macerata.

Marchand's Bloody Tribunal.

Father Paul's History of the Inquisition of Venice

Persecution of Da Costa by the Inquisition.

Sufferings of John Coustos in the Inquisition.

Buchanan's Christian Researches in Asia.

English Quarterly Review for December, 1811.

Master Key to Popery, by Gavin.

Van Halen's Narrative.

History of the Inquisition. Edinburgh. 1828.

Le Maistre's Letters on the Inquisition.

And several other miscellaneous works
and books of travels, which need not be
enumerated.

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COAT OF ARMS OF THE INQUISITION.



THE Coat of Arms used by the inquisition, is a green cross on a black field, with an olive branch on the right side and a naked sword on the left, and this motto, taken from Psalm lxxiii. 22, "Exurge Domine, judica causam tuam;" which means literally, "Arise,

O Lord, judge thy cause." The original text is Deus, (O God,) and not Domine, (O Lord;) the word God being superseded by the word Lord, who came not to condemn but to save the world. Besides this mistake, which shows how little the inventor of the inquisitorial motto understood or handled the Bible, other errors of a grammatical kind might be pointed out.

It may be observed here, that this motto was usually the text selected for the blasphemous inquisitorial sermons which were preached at autos da fè.

A

HISTORY

OF

THE HOLY CATHOLIC INQUISITION.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction—Curiosity and horror inspired by the subject—Praises bestowed on the Inquisition by Roman Catholic writers—Comparison of its doctrines and practice with the doctrines and practice of Jesus Christ—Its repugnancy to the doctrines and practice of the holy fathers and the primitive church—Its original obscure—Emperor Constantine—Union of church and state—Rise of the empire of the popes—Tyranny and corruptions of the church—Heretics—Early reformers—Arnold, of Brescia, burnt—Rise of the Albigenses and Waldenses—Their persecutions—Their character—Pope Innocent III.—St. Dominic—Raymond, earl of Thoulouse, protects the Albigenses and Waldenses.

It is proposed, in the following volume, to present to the youthful reader a compendious history of the origin, the progress, and the decline of the Inquisition, a wonderful and monstrous establishment, as it is called by an eminent writer, which, in the dark ages, was substituted for the religion of Christ; and which may be considered as the

greatest monument of human genius, human wickedness, and human weakness that was ever reared. It is a deep and instructive lesson, and every page of it sets in a broader and a clearer light the truth of that declaration of the sacred volume, that "the human heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked."

There has always existed an extraordinary curiosity in relation to every thing which appertains to the inquisition. The very name inspires a feeling of horror which it is difficult to define: and the feeling is a natural one; for there is something so dark and so terrible in its history, that while the reader passes over the shocking narratives with which its annals are replete, he finds himself utterly unable to realize the details which he reads with such eagerness; and he rises from the perusal with a feeling of almost absolute incredulity. But these melancholy annals have now passed into certain and authentic history; and not only may the sombre outlines of this tribunal, the most execrable that ever encumbered the earth, be contemplated, but the inmost recesses of its interior have been explored, and all its abominations are now set before an astonished world.

And yet the Romish doctors exhausted the language of praise in impious commendations of this tribunal, which they called the bulwark of the true faith—a tribunal not sprung from the wisdom of man, said they, but sent from heaven, and

breathing the very spirit of holiness. Hence it is we constantly find them repeating those titles which to us appear a species of mockery; for this sanguinary institution has always been known as the Holy Office, and even its dungeons called Holy Houses. They compare the inquisition to the sun, and add, that as it would be ridiculous excess to extol the bright orb of day, so would it be absurd, by mere human eulogies, to attempt to glorify the inquisition.

But if we compare the doctrines of the inquisition with those inculcated by the Saviour of the world, the folly of the commendations which have been bestowed, will quickly appear manifest. If we compare the practice, the same result will follow, and yet both their doctrine and their practice they profess to base upon the mild and merciful precepts, and the divine actions, of the Son of God. We shall be constantly struck with the glaring inconsistencies which offer themselves upon every side. In the gospel we read only of charity and love. Charity is called the new commandment by which the disciples of the Lord may be distinguished. What page of the history of the inquisition records a solitary act of charity? "Learn of me," said the Saviour, "for I am meek and lowly of heart." Christ sent his disciples abroad as sheep among wolves, to show forth their divine original by patience under sufferings. What has been the spirit of inquisitors?

Wolves, indeed, and with very little disguise—they have never ceased to rend and devour the flock. Christ reproved the zeal of James and John, who sought to call down fire from heaven to consume the Samaritans, because they would not receive him; and to Peter he commands that the sinner be forgiven not only seven times, but seventy times seven. If then the gospel of Christ be contrary to the violence shown by this tribunal, so is it very clear, in spite of all attempts by inquisitorial writers to prove the contrary, that it was equally repugnant to the doctrine of the holy fathers, and to the practice of the primitive church. One passage alone from the works of one of the most eminent, St. Chrysostom, will be sufficient to illustrate the maxims of mildness, even against heretics, inculcated in that golden age of the church. “Our war,” says he, speaking on the subject of heretics who were afterwards treated with such unremitting barbarity by the inquisition, “is not with men, who are the work of God, but with opinions which the devil has depraved. The physician, when he cures a patient, does not attack the body, but the disorder under which it labours. In the same manner dealing with heretics, we ought not to injure them in person, but seek to remove the error of the understanding, and the evil of the heart. Finally, we ought always to be disposed to submit to persecution, and not to persecute: to suffer grievances, and not to cause

them. It is in this manner Jesus Christ conquered; since he was nailed to a cross, he did not crucify others."

It was a Mahometan precept to propagate their religion by fire and the sword: but the inquisition, refining upon the former, went still beyond in cruelty; and although they showed as little mercy to the bodies of their enemies, they made war against their very minds; the tortures of the body, as will be abundantly shown in the following pages, being absolutely nothing compared to the mental agonies to which their victims were subjected. Can any thing be conceived more opposite to Christianity in every feature? But as there is nothing on the face of the earth to which it may be compared, let it not be deemed extravagant if we go further, and liken the inquisition itself to Pandemonium, and its ministers to malignant demons.

These observations might, perhaps, have been reserved for a later period; but they will be found to be borne out in every respect by the events which it is our melancholy task to record. It has been usual with writers on the inquisition to open their histories by an account of the persecutions of the Christian church under the Roman emperors; but this, though a subject of vast interest, and full of important events, must be passed over in the present undertaking, it being proposed to commence at that period when persecution had become a system, conducted under the pretence

of religion, and animated and directed by the same spirit and head, which was the Roman church. The ecclesiastical history of Rome presents a wide field to be surveyed—a face too broad for our present contemplation; our aim being, as we have already declared, to select from its broad and hideous countenance the inquisitorial tribunal, which forms its most tremendous feature.

In giving its history, it is difficult to point out exactly its fountain heads; and, indeed, it is not necessary to show, with historical certainty, the sources from which they sprung. The fact is, its original is involved in obscurity, and its growth was irregular and gradual. It was an invention of too much wickedness to have been planned and matured by the depravity of any single person or age. It was developed by degrees, and first appeared in spots which may be compared to the blotches of a foul disease, the unerring symptom of internal corruption. Alas! that so disgusting a disorder should have seized the body of the church, which soon became a loathsome carcass of putridity and rottenness.

Until the time of the emperor Constantine, the purity of the Christian faith had been preserved by the great body of Christians with very little alloy; but it is from this epoch we are to date the most disastrous changes: for the conversion of that monarch threw the civil power into the hands of Christians; and whether from the corrupting

influence of authority, or as a signal punishment of heaven, the church can hardly yet be said to be wholly free from the evils which were generated by the unnatural union of the Christian faith with civil empire. In the various changes which ensued, we behold the portentous empire of the popes rising, and with it a gradual declension of religion and knowledge, until the whole world became covered with a mantle of ignorance and superstition, and the cross of Christ had become the signal of persecution and bloodshed. So that in those corrupt days, the apostate Julian was unfortunately too well justified when he exclaimed, that, "in his experience, wild beasts were not so cruel to man, as the Christians of his day were to one another."

It was a fatal policy which had prompted Constantine to remove the seat of government from Rome to Constantinople. Two empires were thus formed out of one, and constant struggles ensued. The hordes of barbarians which desolated the weakened empire, the new kingdoms rising and falling upon the ruins of Rome, together with other influences, operated powerfully in promoting the gradual development of the papal authority, and the final establishment of that monstrous doctrine, the infallibility of the holy see. By a thousand artifices, immense wealth had become the portion of the church, and a steady system of ecclesiastical aggrandizement had been kept in

action for upwards of ten centuries. It was to maintain this usurped authority and tremendous sway acquired over mankind, that the inquisition was established, the scourge of the world, and the most corrupt engine ever wielded.

This unwholesome tyranny of the Romish church being once firmly established over mankind, her sword of vengeance fell with exterminating fury on all who dared to offer the least opposition to her decrees. The odious name of "heretics" was bestowed on those who entertained any belief different from the settled faith; and all Christendom was invoked with promises of salvation, or driven by menaces of punishment, to the extirpation of heretics, than whom, the Romish church taught, the earth could not produce greater monsters.

From the tenth century, the darkest period of what is called the dark ages of Europe, the abuses and wickedness of the church had continued to increase, till, at last, it had mounted to a height of iniquity that is scarcely conceivable. To oppose this growing crime and desolation, numerous individuals, from time to time, had lifted up their feeble voices in vain. In the twelfth century arose Arnold of Brescia, who preached boldly and successfully the necessity of reformation. This reformer became an object of hatred to the whole church, whose power was immediately prepared to crush him; and though he had gained many fol-

lowers and protectors, he finally became a victim, and was burnt! From the blood of this martyr sprung the celebrated sects of the Albigenses and Waldenses, the former so called from the city of Albi, where the opinions of Arnold were first propagated, and the latter called from the Pays de Vaud, whither the reformer's followers went after his cruel martyrdom. According to many writers, it was to extirpate this remnant which had escaped the sword, that the inquisition was first set in motion. These sects, of course, early attracted the rage of Rome, and accordingly they were hunted down like wild beasts at the instigation of the popes; and their whole history is a series of the sufferings they endured at the hands of their barbarous persecutors. In proportion as the church became more corrupt, those who differed from her increased; and as heretics multiplied, persecution became a vital principle of the Catholic religion, gradually assumed a settled character, and was reduced to a sanguinary and diabolical system. The various religious orders became the guilty instruments of a remorseless hierarchy. Among these, the Franciscans and Dominicans soon rendered themselves conspicuous for their unsparing zeal against heretics. Invested by the pope with almost unlimited power over all those who wandered from the faith of the church of Rome, they exercised that power with a dreadful rigour. St. Francis and his followers were

commissioned to extirpate heresies from Italy, while St. Dominic and his disciples were sent to ravage certain parts of France, where numerous heretics, as they were called, disgusted with the corruptions of Rome, sought out an asylum, and practised a purer faith and a better worship.

The creed of the Albigenses and Waldenses, as far as it is possible to ascertain it, appears to have been as harmless as their conduct was pure and peaceable. In the inoffensiveness of their manners they resembled the Quakers : mild in their principles, they were strangers to war, and lived in the constant practice of virtue and true religion. Such is the character of the people who were the earliest objects of Romish cruelty, and whose extermination was the infant essay and darling aim of that corrupt court. Pope Innocent III. whose reign was fatal to the happiness of mankind, as it gave birth to the two orders already mentioned, the Dominican and the Franciscan, determined to tear up this heresy by the roots, and a crusade was proclaimed against it. St. Dominic and Pierre de Chataneuf were the persons to be employed upon the errand. The fanaticism of the age was worked upon by the gloomy eloquence of St. Dominic. He laboured and preached night and day. Every pulpit soon resounded with anathemas against the devoted Albigenses, and an immense army, which was impiously called the militia of Christ, was soon ready to proceed to their destruction. The

persons who engaged in the crusade had all their sins forgiven. These religious soldiers, like those who joined the crusades for the recovery of the Holy Land, had all manner of indulgences granted them: they wore the sign of the cross upon their armour, and hence it was they were also denominated cross-bearers. By their means it was proposed to cut off with the material sword those heretics who could not be vanquished by the sword of preaching.

Raymond, earl of Thoulouse, in France, in whose territory the Albigenses were chiefly found, having refused, at the mandate of the pope, to destroy his innocent subjects, became a principal object of rage. He was excommunicated by the pope. This most dreadful of punishments, in that age, will be explained in another part of the present work. The count, however, was so beloved by his subjects, that the anathema of the church did not fall upon him with its accustomed destructiveness. Recourse was had to stratagem and artifice, and a handle was soon made of an unfortunate accident. Pierre de Chataneuf, the pope's legate who pronounced the curse, was drowned, and it was at once proclaimed that he had been murdered by Raymond. The furious churchman was converted into a saint and martyr, and the earl was branded as an assassin. Every thing was done to inflame the people, and to hold the earl up to execration. The more effectually to secure

his ruin, the pope promised heaven to all who took arms, and the gift of all the estates of the count to those who would conquer them.

CHAPTER II.

Life and character of St. Dominic, the founder of the inquisition—Origin and meaning of the word *inquisition*—First holy office—Miracles related of St. Dominic—His mother's dream—Standard of the inquisition of Goa—Persecutions of the Albigenses and Waldenses—Simon de Montfort—His cruelties—Crusades against heretics—The Beguins—Establishment of the inquisition at Jerusalem—Reflections.

It is now necessary to suspend the narration for the purpose of introducing one of the most extraordinary personages which history can boast; one who is usually denominated the founder of the inquisition; with which, at all events, his name is now completely identified. This individual was St. Dominic, whose authority to conduct the persecutions of which we spoke in the last chapter, was derived from Innocent III. It will be necessary to dwell a little upon his character and life, after which it is proposed to continue the tragical history of the persecutions of the Albigenses and Waldenses, since it was on this occasion that the bloody spirit of papal vindictiveness was first unfolded.

The instructions which St. Dominic received were, to *inquire* out, or make *inquisition* concerning, and to punish all offenders against the faith. Hence the titles of *inquisitor* and *inquisition*. It is also said, that, on his arriving at the theatre of his future exploits, he took up his abode in the house of a certain nobleman of Thoulouse, whom he found sadly infected with heresy; and after bringing him back to the true faith, the noble convert immediately devoted himself and his whole dwelling to St. Dominic and his order; and this is pointed out as the first building in which the holy office was regularly lodged.

The character of St. Dominic and some of the incidents of his life, as they have been given by many writers, possess a strange interest, not so much on account of the marvellous with which they teem, but as illustrating the spirit of the writers, and the depravity, the folly, and the inconceivable ignorance of those ages. Domingo de Gusman, styled, in the Romish Calender, St. Dominic, is the only saint on record, in whom no solitary speck of goodness is discoverable. To impose pain and privations was the pleasure of his unnatural heart, and cruelty was in him an appetite and a passion. No other human being has ever been the occasion of so much misery. The few traits of his character to be gleaned from the lying volumes of his biographers, are all of the darkest colours. He is said never to have looked

a woman in the face, nor spoken to one. On his preaching expeditions he slept in churches or upon graves, wore an iron chain round his body, and his fastings and self-whippings were excessive.

The coming into the world of this bloody man was preceded by prodigies, which, indeed, are all false, but they nevertheless show what impression his actions had made upon those who had either seen or read of them. It is related that, before his birth, his mother dreamed that she had brought into the world a whelp, whose fierce barkings were heard every where, and that the earth was burnt by the lighted torch which the monster bore in his mouth. The Dominican writers say that the torch means, that St. Dominic enlightened the world : but others have found in the torch an emblem of the incredible number of victims who were consumed by the fire and fagot of the inquisition. There can be little doubt, however, that the whole of this dream was invented long after the birth of St. Dominic ; and its universal reception shows, very strikingly, the general opinion that was entertained of the founder of the institution, both of which are figuratively described by the whelp and the torch. This ridiculous story is the more important, as it afterwards became the standard of the inquisition at Goa, in the East Indies.

But to proceed with the marvels related of this wicked man, which are only worthy of attention, as they demonstrate the depravity of the age, and



the character of the writers, as well as of their subject. Earthquakes and meteors, they declare, announced his nativity to the earth and the air; and two or three suns and moons extraordinary were hung out for an illumination in the heavens. The virgin received him in her arms when he was born. When a sucking babe he observed fast-days regularly. His manhood was as portentous as his infancy. He fed multitudes miraculously. He used to be red-hot with divine love—sometimes blazing like a sun—sometimes glowing like a furnace. At times it blanched his garments, and imbued them with a glory resembling that of the transfiguration. Once it sprouted out in six wings like a seraph's, and once the fervour of his piety made him sweat blood. His thousand other miracles, and more especially those relating to the rosary and the virgin Mary, are, many of them, too shocking for repetition. "It is impossible," says a very sensible writer, "to transcribe these atrocious blasphemies without shuddering at the guilt of those who invented them; and when it is remembered that they are the men who have persecuted and martyred so many thousands for conscience' sake, it seems as if human wickedness could not be carried farther. Blessed be the day of Martin Luther's birth! It should be a festival only second to that of the Nativity."—

From this digression upon the character of St. Dominic, it is time to return to the fate of the Al-

bigenses. Raymond, earl of Thoulouse, had vainly wished to protect his innocent subjects. He was compelled at last to yield implicit obedience to the church. This reconciliation, however, which was accompanied by circumstances of great mortification—for he was scourged, naked and in public, till his flesh was torn by the stripes—did not produce the benefits which were anticipated. The numerous swarms of cross-bearers overspread the country, like another plague of locusts, devouring as they went, and leaving nothing but desolation behind. In the year 1209, the city of Biterre was captured, and all the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, were inhumanly massacred. It is related, that some of the cross-bearers being at a loss how to act, since there were Catholics in the city, mixed with the heretics, so that they might slaughter the innocent by mistake; and apprehending at the same time that the guilty might feign themselves Catholics to save their lives, their doubts were soon resolved and quieted by one of their spiritual leaders, who exclaimed with a loud voice, “Slay them all! Slay them all! for the Lord knows who are his own.”—Every soul was butchered!

Simon de Montfort was now chosen as the military leader. This commander was of a gigantic stature, and possessed a constitution hardened to iron in the crusades of the Holy Land. Born and reared in the midst of ignorance, fanaticism, and

war, he would have thought himself dishonoured by sentiments of mercy and pity. His only virtue was ferocity—his courage that of a robber. Such was the chosen champion of religion. In that corrupt age the doors of salvation and the path of glory were equally open to a man who, in our day, would have been condemned to the scaffold.

The earl, having been appointed by the cross-bearers governor of the whole country, including those portions which were not yet conquered, soon distinguished himself for his zeal and ferocity in the war, and the most horrible punishments were inflicted upon the captive heretics. One of these victims, who was condemned to the flames, having expressed a desire to abjure his errors and be converted, there arose a division among the cross-bearers; but the earl quickly decided that the penitent must be burnt; alleging, that if his conversion was genuine, the flames would expiate his sins; and if it was pretended, he would meet the reward his perfidious conduct merited.

In the mean time the younger Raymond, son of the earl, had raised an army in Provence, and was making successful war upon Montfort, and had even recovered the city of Thoulouse itself. These successes were greatly facilitated and secured by the death of Montfort, who was killed by a stone while endeavouring to retake Thoulouse. About the year 1221, the earl of Thoulouse also died, and was succeeded by his son, whose

valour had already recovered his father's earldom by arms. One of the first acts of the young earl was to banish the inquisition from his dominions, whereby he at once brought upon himself the indignation of the pope. Once more the horrid trumpet of war was heard, and the Dominicans were again sent to preach a new crusade, to be called the "Penance War." Letters were sent to the French king, Lewis, commanding him, "in the name of God," to smite the Albigenses with the sword, and burn their cities with fire. It was in vain now that the earl offered to make every atonement to God and the holy church. The legate of the pope was deaf to his submission, and resolved to compel him to renounce his patrimony for ever.

Lewis, king of France, entered upon this war with alacrity, and besieged the city of Avignon. Before it was taken, however, he fell a victim to dysentery. His death was concealed from the army by the legate, whose conduct, it will presently be seen, was distinguished by the most atrocious perfidy. Finding it impossible to conquer the city by force, he had recourse to stratagem. He craved permission to enter the city, with his prelates and servants, for the purpose of examining into the faith of the inhabitants; declaring, with an oath, that he would put off the siege, and that his only motive was the salvation of their souls. The citizens, confiding in the oath of so

holy a character, and dreaming of no fraud, consented; but the army, according to a private understanding, rushed in at the gates, and treacherously captured the city, slaying many of the people, and demolishing the fortresses and towers of defence. Thoulouse, also, was soon after compelled to surrender, and Raymond was subjected to penalties in some respects severer than those which had been imposed upon his father. A Catholic writer, in speaking of one of the penances of the earl, exclaims, "that it was a holy sight to see so great a man, who for a long time could resist so many and great nations, led in his shirt and trousers, and with naked feet, to the altar," which was done to absolve him from his sentence of excommunication.

The earl's neck being thus bowed down to the papal yoke, uncommon and successful efforts were made by the pope, and seconded by several monarchs, to enlarge and consolidate the inquisitorial power. The king of France and the emperor of Germany, about the same time promulged the severest laws and constitutions against all manner of heretics, by which the office of the inquisition was greatly promoted. But it must not be supposed that this cruel tyranny was patiently submitted to by all nations. In many places great resistance was made, and open violence employed against the inquisitors, whose cruelties were insupportable. The power of the pontiff, however,

was not to be resisted. Even the emperor Frederick, who had signalized his zeal in the cause of the church against heretics, was, for a slight offence, at once attacked by the thunder of excommunication. Pope John XXIV. went so far as to condemn as heretics the Beguins, monks of the order of St. Francis, who vowed never to own any property, but to live by begging, which they denominated evangelical poverty. John wished to exempt them from this discipline, and dispense with the strict rule of St. Francis, and authorized them to lay up storehouses of corn, wine, and bread; which they, deeming it a violation of their purity, and derogatory to the sublime perfection of their order, opposed so strenuously, that the pontiff issued a bloody decree against the obstinate Beguins. Many of them were burnt to death by this pope, whom they called the Boar of the Forest, which had destroyed the enclosure of the tabernacle, and had done more harm to the church of God than all former heretics put together. One of them, who was speaking of the pope's power to dispense with the rule of St. Francis, inquired, contemptuously, in allusion to the text in Scripture whereby the holy see claims earthly authority, viz. that "whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven," whether, "if the pope bound the tail of an ass on earth, the tail of the ass would be bound in heaven."

But in defiance of all opposition, the inquisition

was introduced into numerous places, and even found its way into Syria and Palestine; for about the end of the thirteenth century, the pope sent a bull to the patriarch of Jerusalem, commanding him to establish inquisitors in the different districts of his legateship, in Judea. It cannot fail to excite singular emotions in the reader's mind, to find the inquisition exercising, in the name of Christianity, its dark and appalling office in the very spot where the Saviour of mankind had unfolded his holy and glad mission for the redemption of a sin-lost world—a melancholy change indeed, to perceive growing on the soil where once sprung the rose of Sharon and the lily of the valley, the poisonous and the pestilent branches of a deadly Upas.

CHAPTER III.

Objects of Pope Innocent III. in establishing the inquisition—Epoch of its establishment the same as that of the reformation, and of the revival of letters—Established in Germany—Cruelties of the inquisition towards the heretics of Bohemia—Is planted in various countries—Is established in Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella—Torquemada—His life and character—His fatal influence in promoting the inquisition—Bitter persecutions against the Moors and Jews—Expulsion of the Jews and Moors from Spain—Death of Torquemada.

ALTHOUGH the cruel wars of persecution had been triumphantly successful in the slaughter of thousands of innocent persons who had fallen victims in the victories of Montfort, yet it was obvious that the process of extirpating heresy, by extermination, could never be effectual in the extinction of the Albigenses; for, in opposition to the rigorous measures employed for the purpose, it had penetrated to the very capital of Christendom. Innocent had too much sagacity not to perceive that the evil would only be increased by the violent steps used to eradicate it. It was therefore his wicked, though great, policy to create and consolidate a power, strong and ever-wakeful, which should watch over the papal interests, and be both willing and able, at all moments and in defiance of all human interference, to crush heresy, whenever and in whatever form it might raise its head.

Accordingly every spring was put in action to accomplish this stupendous plan of human misery. As usual, the monks of St. Dominic and St. Francis were the terrible functionaries made use of by the holy see. These servile minions of the interests and will of Rome, devoid of the ties of family and affection, which bind men in society—accustomed, in religion, to believe and not to examine—were true fanatics, without mercy, without humanity; and their hatred to heretics was ever kept alive by the fear of losing their temporal wages.

It is not possible, within the narrow compass which this compendious history is intended to embrace, to give an account of the various successes and checks, and all the vicissitudes which the inquisition met in its gradual progress. Hitherto, however, its authority had been confined to Italy, where it was pent up within comparatively strict limits; but it was plain that, like a torrent swollen, it was soon to overleap its bounds, and, spreading beyond the Alps, to deluge Europe with a flood of horrors. It is impossible to contemplate this period of the history of the world without breathless interest and deep emotion. If the inquisition forced its way beyond Italy, all Europe was to be darkened by its portentous shade, its energies be paralyzed, its kingdoms be cemeteries, and its whole soil become one wide Aceldama. But there is a great Power which rules the destinies of our

world ; and the interposition of that Power, at this critical moment, was providentially conspicuous. The human mind began to awaken from its torpor of ages ; the revival of learning followed with its beneficial consequences, and the glorious Reformation was just streaking the horizon of that age with the first colours of the dawn. These lights soon broke from heaven upon the darkness of Europe, and men were enabled to see the fearful places in which they had been groping, and the more fearful perils by which they were environed. What power, says a writer, rescued Europe from this, apparently, inevitable degradation ? It was one of those circumstances which it is neither granted to wisdom to foresee, nor to prudence to guard against ; and the importance of which does not ordinarily strike men's minds until experience, long after, has enabled them to consider its various and important results. Is there in history an epoch more worthy of the attention of a philosopher, than that in which he beholds the establishment of the inquisition coincide so nearly with the revival of letters and of arts in Europe, and sees Providence, in this respect, imitate its conduct in the natural world, where it frequently places at the side of the poisonous weed the plant which contains its antidote ? Providence, we may repeat ; for it was not, assuredly, the presentiment of danger, nor the apprehension of future evil, that gave birth to the art of printing, almost by the cradle of the inquisition.

Germany was the first country in Europe, beyond Italy, in which the attempt was now made, by the popes, to plant the inquisition; which, at every attempt, met with opposition, and in some instances even caused general insurrections of the people. Wherever they did succeed, the inquisitorial fires were fed, as usual, with thousands of heretics. In Bohemia, with the dawn of the reformation, the fury of the revived inquisition returned. Throughout this empire, in consequence of the doctrines preached by John Huss and Jerome of Prague, who became martyrs to the cause, and were burnt to death, was experienced, in its worst forms, the rage of persecution. As the doctrines of these men, to whom may be added Wickliffe, another early reformer, continued to spread, the pope, at last exasperated, offered a universal pardon of sins to the most wicked person who would kill a Bohemian. The consequence was, that this fated kingdom was invaded by the emperor Sigismond with a large army, and its whole extent swept by the besom of war.

The inquisition had been successively introduced into Austria, Dalmatia, Hungary, Poland, and other places. In Venice, also, it was established, but under great restrictions, through the wisdom of the rulers of that famous republic. The celebrated order of the Templars had been crushed by its power. Every thing gave way before its wasting progress, and before the close of the thir-

teenth century, it was forced, by papal authority, into Servia, Syria, and even Palestine. In France, where it had begun to decline, it was revived against the descendants of the Albigenses and Waldenses. Valence, Flanders, and Artois became theatres of persecution. In short, the popes were continually endeavouring to promote it, and to establish it in those kingdoms and countries which were exempted from its grievous yoke, that their enemies might enjoy no place of shelter or refuge in the world from this terrible tribunal, whose tyranny rendered miserable all who lived within its sphere, and made the monarch on his throne and the peasant in his hut equally tremble.

But whatever obstacles may have opposed the planting of the holy office in other countries, it is very certain that the kingdom of Spain presented a genial soil, wherein this pernicious institution took a deep and deadly root. In no country has the inquisition thriven with so quick and baleful a growth, or flung such a melancholy shade. It was nurtured under the fostering care of Ferdinand and Isabella. They established it in all their kingdoms with great pomp and magnificence, under a pretence of curing the corruptions which licentiousness had engendered, and the promiscuous intercourse of Moors, Jews, and Christians, who composed the people over whom their dominion extended. Force and fraud were added to authority. The most ridiculous impostures were

practised. At Guadaloupe the holy office desired a sign from the virgin Mary ; and it is related that miracles were wrought in such numbers, and with such rapidity, that the pious father who undertook the task of penning them, grew weary of the labour.

It is extremely difficult to divine the real motives which could have impelled such sagacious sovereigns to adopt so dangerous a policy. It could scarcely have derived its original only from a blind and bigoted zeal for popery, as has been alleged : they doubtless expected that they should possess their kingdom in greater peace and security after stifling the Mahometan and Jewish religions ; or, perhaps, as the ambition of Ferdinand and Isabella is said to have aimed at the universal empire of Europe, they wished, by signal zeal in the cause of catholicism, to enlist the good will and connivance of the all-powerful pontiff. But the true character of Ferdinand, the Catholic king, is well known. He was a man who scrupled at no crime which served his purpose ; and as the religion in which he was trained taught that the means were sanctified by the end, the extension of that religion by force seemed to him a compensation for all his other iniquities. The state of Isabella's mind was not dissimilar from his own : by putting herself at the head of a faction, she had obtained a kingdom to which her claim at least was doubtful, and she had obtained it at the price of the happiness and liberty of another, whose right she had her-

self acknowledged and sworn to respect. A crown thus purchased did not sit easy on her head. She was unhappy in her husband and unfortunate in her children, and she sought in religion an anodyne for conscience as well as for affliction. There is reason to suppose that a morbid melancholy temperament, thus generated, or at least thus heightened, was transmitted by her to her posterity—a sort of moral scrofula—which displayed itself in many members of her family. She and her husband both supposed that they could wash their hands clean in blood. In the year 1479, they obtained the privilege from Pope Sixtus IV. of creating inquisitors, and six years afterwards the work of devastation began.

On the history of Spain in earlier times, and on the progress of fanaticism, it is not necessary to dwell. A new world was discovered, and it was explored and conquered by her priests and soldiers, whose struggle seemed to be, which should create the wider and worse desolation throughout the magnificent domain. The monks and inquisitors preached loudly against the idolatries and human sacrifices of the Mexicans. What might not these unhappy beings have replied, had they witnessed the tortures and the fires which the inquisitors of Madrid, of Lisbon, and of Goa, were daily kindling for the tens of thousands of human victims offered up by them in the name of the God of mercy?

It was under the malignant influences of Torquemada and Ximenes, whose motives and aims, though as different as possible, still called upon them to unite in a grand and equal object. Thomas de Torquemada, or Turrecremata, was a Dominican and a fanatic. He aimed at the favour of the pope and spiritual rule. Ximenes was prime minister, imperious and tyrannical. Indeed it should be observed, that motives of a purely human character had operated in the introduction of the inquisition in every place where it had become established; the object even of the first projector, Pope Innocent III. having been to sway the world by means of a great religious engine of irresistible force.

The inquisition had found its way into this country, however, long before the period when these individuals flourished, but the time was not ripe; adverse circumstances had retarded its growth, and it was in a very low condition during the fifteenth century, when Torquemada made his appearance. This man may be regarded as a modern incarnation of the bloody Dominic; and as his whole life, like that of the latter, is identified with the tribunal which was renewed in Spain by his influence, it will be interesting to contemplate his career more closely, and to enter with greater minuteness into the circumstances of his life.

A small fortune enabled him to procure a good

education, and an ardent spirit drove him, at an early age, to travel through Spain, where he became deeply enamoured of a lady of Cordova, who rejected his suit, and became the wife of a Moor. Thus, personal revenge has been alleged as the real cause of that malignant hatred of the Moorish race, of which they were, at a future day, to reap the bitterness. Soon after his disappointment, which ever rankled in his breast, he formed a strict bond of friendship with Lopez de Cervera, superior of the order of St. Dominic; an order which, it will be remembered, was coeval with the inquisition: and it was in the society of this individual that Torquemada, who had become a zealous Dominican, upon examining the archives of the Dominicans, and perceiving the unlimited power formerly enjoyed by that order, conceived the ambitious project of reviving the tribunal of the inquisition.

To accomplish this mighty end, it was first necessary that the different kingdoms into which Spain was broken should be united under one potent empire. The plan was so vast, that it seemed beyond the reach of one man's strength; but Torquemada possessed prodigious force of mind; and stimulated as he was by a thousand motives, among which the prospect of extirpating the Moors, whose power was on the decline in Spain, was not the least, his spirit rose with an object he deemed worthy of the ambition that inflamed his bosom. To commence this enterprise

he adopted the plan usually resorted to in those days by ambitious monks to gain celebrity, and as a preacher he quitted Saragossa and repaired to Toledo, where his eloquence was so successful and his reputation so great, that, in the course of a short time, he was gradually elevated to a post which even he could hardly have anticipated. He was appointed confessor to Isabella, who was still a child. Over her mind Torquemada soon obtained an entire ascendancy, and he planted in it the first seeds of ambition, by breathing in her ear, constantly, the possibility of her one day mounting the throne. He accustomed her to the idea that, as soon as this event took place, which he foresaw probable, it would be her interest, as hereditary queen of Castile, to unite herself to Ferdinand, the hereditary prince of Arragon, by which union one great object, the consolidation of the empire, was to be gained. The ingenuity and perseverance by which this monk obtained complete sway over all the thoughts of the young princess, would command admiration could it be for a moment forgotten that all this industry and pernicious wisdom had for its aim the misery of the human race.

The next step was to imbue her mind with the necessity and importance of re-establishing the inquisition, and to prepare her for it in the event of her obtaining the crown. Torquemada had been accustomed to infuse the poison of his counsels at the season of confession, and the time he

now selected was that of receiving the sacrament. It is not necessary to go through all the guile of this serpent, and the winding paths by which he crawled to his object. He succeeded, and Isabella at that solemn moment engaged herself, by an oath, to re-establish the "holy office" in Spain, in case she should ever be placed upon its throne !

Every expectation which had been formed was realized ; subsequent events elevated Isabella to the throne, and Torquemada then came forward, and reminded her of the oath she had registered in heaven. He represented to her, that although the conquest of Grenada had driven out the Moors, yet that they swarmed throughout the land, and that it was her duty to convert them all, as well as the Jews, or to commit them to the flames, for the repose of the kingdom, the benefit of the faith, and the glory of God. He told her that these pagans, the enemies of the Holy Catholic religion, would pretend to embrace the faith, and that the only remedy was the erection of the inquisition, which alone was able to rule the conscience, and penetrate the most secret corners of the human heart ; that if the faith had been preserved pure in Italy, it was to be attributed to this institution ; and that it would reflect immortal honour on so great a queen to build up this bulwark of the true religion, which would be as durable as the Spanish monarchy. The successful result of these deadly counsels need not be repeated. Torquemada

reached the summit of his hopes. He was appointed grand inquisitor of Spain, and very soon after tribunals were created throughout the empire. During the fourteen years that he exercised his new and congenial function, he prosecuted before his tribunal upwards of one hundred thousand individuals, of whom about six thousand were condemned to the flames, and their goods became the prey of the spoiler.

The system thus began soon extended itself over Spain. The Jews who escaped death or imprisonment were compelled to wear a peculiar dress, in order that all Christians might avoid them. Their children and their children's children to the latest generation were excluded from all offices of trust and honour, and prohibited from wearing any thing but the rudest garments. In the single diocese of Seville, above one hundred thousand persons were destroyed, converted, or driven into exile, and in the city three thousand houses were left without inhabitants. The reader must not suppose that this is an exaggerated tale: it is the boast of the inquisitors, and grave and authentic historians have confirmed what they dared not condemn, even if they felt a human horror at such execrable deeds. A third of the confiscated property went to the inquisitors; a third to the extraordinary expenses of the faith—that is, it went the same way; the remainder was the government's share of the plunder. When these perse-

cuted people found it hopeless to appeal to humanity, justice, or even policy, they tried to work upon the cupidity of the government, and large sums were offered for general toleration, even for the safety of individuals. They offered an immense sum to Ferdinand, to assist him in his wars, if he would guaranty to them peace and security from persecution. The monarch would have listened to their prayer, when the fierce and unsparing Torquemada had the audacity to enter the presence of the king and queen with the crucifix in his hand, and exclaim, "Behold the image of our crucified Redeemer, whom Judas sold for thirty pieces of silver: you are about to do the same for thirty thousand. Behold him, take him, and hasten to sell him! As for me, I lay down my office. Nothing of this shall be imputed to me. You shall render an account of your bargain to God." Then laying down the crucifix, he departed. The result was, the Jews were banished, and the Moors were obliged to fly the realm. These banished Jews carried away with them a quantity of gold concealed in their garments, and saddles, and even in their intestines; for they melted the coin, and swallowed it in small pieces. Many were seized in Africa, where the native Moors even killed the women for the purpose of procuring the gold which they expected to find in their bowels. Such were the cruelties which sprung from the insolent fanaticism of Torquemada, sus

tained by the avarice of Ferdinand, and the thoughtless zeal of Isabella!

It is conjectured that above half a million of Jews were expatriated, and their immense riches confiscated. If to the whole number be added that of the Moors exiled, at least two millions of valuable subjects must have been lost to Spain by the tyrannical bigotry of Ferdinand and Isabella. This is the calculation of the historian Mariana. The entire expulsion of the Moors took place in 1609, to the number of a million of souls; so that, says Llorente, in the space of one hundred and thirty-nine years the inquisition deprived the kingdom of three millions of inhabitants.

The Moors of Grenada had before this period attracted the attention of the Romish see. Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, had been sent by the pope to convert them to Christianity. By violence he forced many to submit, and a vast number of Alcorans and other books touching upon the Mahometan religion were destroyed. In consequence of a dangerous commotion which occurred in the city of Grenada about that period, numbers of the Moorish race were condemned as guilty of high-treason. When it was proposed to translate some portions of the service of the mass, and of the Gospel, into the Arabic, for the benefit of the convicts, Ximenes would not permit it, declaring that "it was a sin to throw pearls before swine." He further said, that "the Old and New

Testaments, in which there were many things that required a learned and attentive reader, and a chaste and pious mind, should be kept in those three languages only which God, not without the greatest mystery, ordered to be placed over his most dear Son's head, when he suffered the death of the cross;" and that then "Christianity would suffer the greatest mischief when the Bible should be translated into the vulgar tongues."

Torquemada died in 1498; and it is a satisfaction to know that this wretch did not go without some punishment, even in this world. He lived in constant dread, had always a guard of fifty horse and two hundred familiars, and drank out of a unicorn's horn, (as he believed it to be,) from a superstitious notion that it would secure him from poison. The persecution of the Jews, related in this chapter, which was conducted by this man, is regarded by that unhappy people as a calamity scarcely less dreadful and extensive than the destruction of Jerusalem.

CHAPTER IV.

The reformation in Italy—Aoneo Paleareo—His character and writings—Persecuted and finally burnt by the inquisition—Adventures of Mr. Bower—His escape from the inquisition of Macerata—Account of three modes of torture practised in that tribunal—Persecution of Galileo.

BEFORE proceeding with the history of the inquisition in Spain, it will be proper to turn for a little while to other matters connected with the subject in Italy, the interest of which, it is hoped, will justify the digression. The zeal of the inquisition against the Jews was stimulated by avarice, but against the reformers it was inflamed by fear and hatred. It is a remarkable fact, also, that the Jews had never been persecuted at Rome. But the principles of the reformation had made a greater progress in the papal dominions than is commonly supposed. In a great number of the cities, vast multitudes of converts to its doctrine had been won, and many eminent individuals devoted their zeal and efforts to its propagation. Among these, Aoneo Paleareo claims a distinguished station. He was a native of Veroli, in Italy, had studied the Scriptures, and read the works of the German reformers, from which he had imbibed a new and a better knowledge. He was a man very eminent for learning,; but his

freedom of language and his new opinions surrounded him by spies, who sought his ruin. One crime he committed was to laugh at a rich priest who was seen every morning kneeling at the shrine of a saint, but who, nevertheless, refused to pay his just debts. An enemy of Paleareo declared, that if he were allowed to live, there would not be a vestige of religion left in the city. Paleareo gives the explanation of this himself, which was, that having been asked what was the first ground on which men should rest their salvation, he replied, Christ. On being asked what was the second, he said, Christ. And again being asked what was the third ground, he a third time said, Christ. But the greatest crime he committed was in writing a book entitled, "The benefit of the death of Christ." For this book he was condemned to be burnt, but escaped, and fled to the city of Lucca. He continued, however, to be persecuted, and was, at last, in consequence of the reformed opinions he held, condemned, after an imprisonment of three years, to be suspended on a gibbet, and his body given to the flames. Thus, in 1570, at the age of seventy years, was destroyed by those tigers of the inquisition, the Dominicans, the venerable Paleareo, distinguished alike for his talents, his writings, his sufferings, and his boldness; a man who was both great and good, and one who is regarded as the greatest ornament of the reformation in Italy.

It is not possible to enter into a regular account

of this institution as it existed in Italy, as a volume would easily be exhausted ; but, from the numerous narratives with which its history in this country abound, one will be selected as sufficient to show that the same spirit of cruelty pervaded it in every region and at every period. The account which Mr. Bower, the author of the " History of the Popes," has given of his own adventures, as connected with the inquisition at Macerata, in Italy, though it has been deemed by some writers overstrained, yet what he relates of the inquisition itself in that place, of whose cruelties he was an eyewitness, is believed to be substantially correct. There is nothing in his account which appears like exaggeration, and therefore an abridgment of his story, as related by himself, is now offered to the reader.

Archibald Bower was born in Scotland, and at the age of five years was sent to an uncle in Italy, where he was educated, and became so distinguished that he was appointed professor in the college of Macerata. The inquisitor general of this place had contracted a great intimacy with him, and on the death of one of the inquisitorial judges, Bower was appointed in his place, an elevation which was deemed a great honour. Ignorant of the office he was about to undertake, he entered upon it with alacrity, took the oath of secrecy, and received a book called the " Directory," containing rules for the decisions and conduct of the inquisi-

tors, which, for greater caution, was in manuscript. This book is always sealed when its possessor is dangerously ill, or promoted to a higher office, under which circumstances it is death to open or retain it.

The first thing he did, after returning home, was to peruse his directory, in order better to understand his new employment; but what was his astonishment to find the rules more barbarous than can be conceived. Within a fortnight after his admission, he had an opportunity to see that the practice of the inquisition was as inhuman as the regulations. A poor man was brought to the office. He had an only daughter who had fallen sick, and for whom he prayed to the virgin Mary. His daughter, however, died, and the old man, crazed by the loss, had flung away the medal of the virgin which he used to carry about him, and for this crime he was put to the torture.

It is impossible to express how much his feelings were constantly violated by the barbarities of which he was a witness. On one occasion it being his turn to sit by a person tortured, he was so affected by the agony of the sufferer that he fainted away, and was obliged to be carried out. When he recovered, the inquisitor general said to him, "Mr. Bower, take your place; you do not reflect that what is done to the body is for the good of the soul." Mr. Bower replied, "it was the weakness of his nature, and he could not help

it.”—“Nature !” said the inquisitor ; “ you must conquer nature by grace.”—While this conversation was going forward, the poor wretch expired.

Mr. Bower now began to project his escape, and revolved in his own mind every possible method of effecting it ; but the difficulties were formidable in the extreme, and the consequences, in case of failure, would be fatal. At length a circumstance occurred, in which he was called upon to act with brutal severity against a nobleman and his lady, who were his best and dearest friends, and who had incurred the malice of the church, which determined Mr. Bower in his resolution. The manner of it was all that required consideration. It occurred to him to solicit permission to make a pilgrimage to Loretto ; but conscious of his secret purpose, he feared the words would falter on his tongue, and his very confusion betray him. At last he collected sufficient resolution, and obtained the immediate assent of the inquisitor general.

Having made his preparations, he mounted his horse determined to take all the by-roads, it being upwards of four hundred miles before he could get out of the pope’s jurisdiction. As soon as he reached the place where the road divided, the one part leading to Loretto, the other in the direction he wished to go, he hesitated some minutes in great perplexity. The dangers of his adventure presented themselves in such lively colours that

he was almost tempted to quit his design ; but mustering all his strength of mind, he pushed his horse into the contrary road.

During the first seventeen days the difficult nature of the route he was obliged to pursue, among mountains, rocks and precipices, in paths generally no better than sheep tracks, prevented his advancing more than one hundred miles ; and, in the mean time, as soon as the suspicion of his attempt was rumoured, express despatches were sent, and every possible method adopted to overtake and secure him ; and, indeed, the expresses in a very short time considerably outstripped him.

During seventeen days he supported himself on goat's milk obtained from the shepherds, and such coarse food as he could purchase. At the expiration of this period, having fasted nearly three days, he was compelled to seek the first habitation, which happened to be a post-house. He requested the landlady to give him some victuals ; but looking about, he saw a paper posted up over the door which contained an exact description of his own person, and offered a reward of about four thousand dollars to any one who should carry him to the inquisition, and three thousand dollars for his head. To add to his terrors, he was recognised by two individuals, who, either from want of presence of mind or of courage, permitted him, though under circumstances of great difficulty, to escape.

He was now obliged to take refuge in the woods.

where he must have been famished but for the protecting care of Providence. In this disconsolate and wandering manner he had once wellnigh fallen into the hands of his enemies, having been on the point of entering a large town which he discovered at a distance; but was fortunately told by a person whom he accidentally met, that it was Lucerne, the residence of the pope's nuncio, to and from whom all the expresses concerning himself had been despatched.

One dismal, dark, and wet night, Mr. Bower could neither find shelter, ascertain where he was, nor what course to pursue, when he perceived a light at a great distance, which led him to a miserable cottage. He knocked, and some one demanded who he was, and what brought him there. Mr. Bower replied, he was a stranger, and had lost his way. "Way!" cried the man, "there is no way here to lose."—"Why where am I?"—"In the canton of Berne."—"In the canton of Berne!" exclaimed he in raptures; "thank God, then I am at last safe." The man, exceedingly perplexed, came down and let him in, and Mr. Bower inquired if he had heard any thing of a person who had lately escaped from the inquisition. "Ay! we have all heard of him, after sending off so many expresses, and making such a noise about him: God grant that he may be safe, and keep out of their hands." Mr. Bower said, "I am the very person." The peasant, in a trans-

port of joy, clasped him in his arms, and immediately called his wife, who received him with every expression of pleasure. Mr. Bower passed the remainder of the night in comfort and security, and on the following morning the man set out with him to direct his path, but previously insisted on his returning a little way to look at the road he had travelled the preceding night. Mr. Bower did not much like this. The peasant, perceiving his doubts, reproved him for distrusting that Providence which had so wonderfully preserved him, and soon convinced him that he only wanted to increase his confidence in it for the future, by showing him the danger he had escaped; for he and his horse had passed a precipice where the breadth of the path would scarcely admit a horse, and the very sight of which made him shudder!

It is unnecessary to pursue Mr. Bower's narrative any farther. It is sufficient to state, that after encountering many perils, and being on the eve of capture several times, it pleased Heaven to conduct him through all dangers, till he found himself at last safely landed in England. What his feelings were, on finding himself free from the clutches of the inhuman monsters of the inquisition, may be better imagined than described; but perhaps no better method can be adopted of showing the reader the ruthless and ferocious character of the persons from whom he fled, than by mentioning three different modes of torture practised

in the inquisition of Macerata, which are described by Mr. Bower. The first torture, called the "queen of tortures," consisted in hoisting the victim up to a ceiling by a rope, and then letting him drop to within a short distance from the ground, in such a manner as to break his bones. This will be more particularly described in another part of this work; it was a mode of torture universally employed by the holy office. The second torture consisted of an instrument something like a smith's anvil, fixed in the middle of the floor, with a spike on the top. Ropes are attached to each corner of the room, to which the criminal's legs and arms are fastened, and he is drawn up a little, and then let down with his back bone exactly on the spike of iron, upon which his whole weight rests. The third torture is what they term a slight one, and applied only to women. Matches of tow and pitch are wrapped round their hands, and then set on fire until the flesh is consumed.

The inquisition was not more the irreconcilable enemy of reformation in religion, than it was to any advancement in learning and science. As the absolute bondage of the human mind was its aim, it was ever raised to arrest the march of intellect, and its foul breath always ready to blast improvement in the blossom. A memorable example of this is presented in the fate of the illustrious Galileo, one of the greatest astronomers that ever lived

and the first who applied the telescope to any valuable purpose in the science of the heavens.

This great man having adopted the Copernican system of the universe—or, as it is now called, the Newtonian, that is, that the sun is the centre of motion to a number of her planets, and, among others, the earth, which revolve round the sun at different periods—he attracted the attention of the inquisitors, was arraigned before their tribunal, and in danger of being put to death. Now listen to the pompous manner in which the indictment against the venerable Galileo was drawn up by these inquisitorial dunces.

“Whereas you, Galileo, of Florence, aged seventy, were informed against in the year 1615, in this holy office, for maintaining as true a certain false doctrine held by many, namely, that the sun is the centre of the world, and immovable, and that the earth moves round it with a daily motion: likewise that you have kept up a correspondence with certain German mathematicians concerning the same: likewise that you have published some letters concerning the solar spots, in which you have explained the same doctrine as true, and that you have answered the objections which in several places were raised against you from the authority of the holy Scriptures by construing or glossing over the said Scriptures according to your own opinions: and finally, whereas

the copy of a writing under the form of a letter, reported to have been written by you to one who was formerly your scholar, has been shown to us, in which you have followed the hypothesis of Copernicus, which contains certain propositions contrary to the true sense and authority of the holy Scriptures.

“Now, this holy tribunal being desirous to provide against the inconveniences and dangers which this statement may occasion *to the detriment of the holy faith*, by the command of the most eminent lords, &c. &c. of the supreme and universal inquisition, have caused the two following propositions concerning the immovability of the sun, and the motion of the earth to be thus qualified by the divines, viz.

“That the sun is the centre of the world, and immovable, with a local motion, is an absurd proposition, false in philosophy, and absolutely *heretical*, because it is expressly contrary to the Scriptures.

“That the earth is neither the centre of the world, nor immovable, but that it possesses a daily motion, is likewise an absurd proposition, false in philosophy, and, theologically considered, at least erroneous in point of faith.

“But as it pleased us in the first instance to proceed kindly with you, it was decreed in the said congregation, held before our lord N——, February 25, 1616, that the most eminent lord cardinal

Bellarmino should command you, that you should entirely depart from the said false doctrine; and in case you should refuse to obey him, that you should be commanded by the commissary of the holy office to abandon the same; and that you should neither teach it to others, defend it, nor say any thing concerning it; and that if you should not submit to this order, you should be put in jail, &c.”

“Thus, for merely entertaining and expressing an opinion with regard to the system of the universe,” says an eminent modern writer, “was the greatest philosopher of his age subjected to be imprisoned in the jail of the inquisition, which imprisonment almost necessarily inferred the forfeiture of life, by means of burning; and if the holy inquisitors, in their great mercy, were pleased not to burn him to death, the circumstance of being imprisoned by them necessarily inferred the forfeiture of all his property, and the consigning his name to infamy.” Besides all this, there are reasons for believing that this great man had actually been subjected to the torture!

After enumerating all the errors of Galileo’s writings, and insisting on his recanting them, the holy inquisitors proceed:—“Invoking, therefore, the most holy name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of his most glorious mother Mary, ever a virgin, we do, by this our definitive sentence, &c. &c. judge and declare, that you the said Galileo have,

upon account of those things which are produced in the written process, and which you have confessed as above, subjected yourself to a strong suspicion of heresy in this holy office, by believing, and holding to be true, a doctrine which is false and contrary to the sacred and divine Scripture: viz. that the sun is the centre of the orb of the earth, and does not move from the east to the west; and that the earth moves, and is not the centre of the world; and that these things may be considered and defended as probable opinions, although they have been declared and determined to be contrary to the sacred Scripture; and, consequently, that you have incurred all the censures and penalties appointed and promulgated by the sacred canons, from which it is our pleasure that you should be absolved, provided, that you do first, with a sincere heart, and a true faith, abjure, curse, and detest before us, the aforesaid errors and heresies, and every other error and heresy contrary to the Catholic and Apostolic Roman church, in the form which shall be prescribed to you by us."

Galileo was accordingly forced, in the most humiliating manner, to renounce those sublime truths which now no one doubts, and which his whole useful life had been employed in placing upon an immovable basis. It is not intended to defend Galileo for denying upon oath what he knew was truth; yet he had no alternative between this and suffering death: but what can be thought of the

holy church, and the holy inquisition, which, as the enemies of truth and righteousness as well as science and literature, imposed this dreadful alternative upon one of the wisest of the sons of men.

CHAPTER V.

Inquisition in Spain—Philip II.—Effects of the inquisition in Spain—Auto da Fé in Valladolid in 1559—Fate of Don Carlos de Seso—Execution of Donna Jane Bohorques—Extract of a sermon preached at this Auto—Charles II. furnishes a gilt fagot for an Auto—State of the inquisition under successive Spanish kings—Its decline—Abolished by Napoleon, and revived by Ferdinand VII.—Blanco White—Van Halen's account of his own sufferings—An instance of death by the pendulum as late as the year 1820.

IN the last chapter a digression was made from the course of this history, the thread of which will now be resumed. It was under Philip II. says Llorente, that the Spanish inquisition committed the greatest cruelties; and the reign of this prince is the most remarkable period in the history of the holy office. He was born in 1527. Nursed in the lap of bigotry, he had imbibed in his cradle those principles of intolerance which distinguished the Romish ecclesiastics who surrounded him. The inquisition was cherished by this fanatic, and, in his hands, it became a firebrand that wrapped his dominions in the flames of religious persecution.

In Castile and Arragon, at this period, there were no less than eighteen different inquisitorial courts, whose counsellors were called apostolical. There were also numberless officials belonging to the holy office, and about twenty thousand familiars dispersed through the kingdom, who acted the odious parts of spies and informers, and through whose activity and vigilance the dungeons were always crowded, and the fires kindled. The dreadful influence of the inquisition pervaded every limb of the realm, like a poison which was consuming its vitals. Grievously was Spain tormented with this evil spirit; and she continued, during Philip's reign, to writhe under the agonies of demoniac possession.

This institution, says Watson, was no doubt well calculated to produce an uniformity of religious profession; but it had a tendency, likewise, to destroy the sweets of social life, to banish all freedom of thought and speech, to disturb men's minds with the most disquieting apprehensions, and to produce the most intolerable slavery, by reducing persons of all ranks of life to a state of abject dependence upon priests, whose integrity, were it even greater than that of other men, as in every false religion it is less, must have been corrupted by the uncontrollable authority which they were allowed to exercise.

By this tribunal a visible change was wrought in the temper of the people, and reserve, and dis-

trust, and jealousy became the distinguishing character of a Spaniard. It perpetuated and confirmed the reign of ignorance and superstition. It inflamed the rage of bigotry ; and the cruel spectacles to which, in the execution of its decrees, it familiarized the people, nourished in them that ferocious spirit which, in the Netherlands and America, they manifested by deeds that have fixed an everlasting reproach upon the Spanish name.

The emperor Charles V. in his will had charged his successor, in the name of God, and out of the great affection he bore him, to honour and sustain the office of the holy inquisition. Philip obeyed the injunction too well ; for, not content with the cruelties he committed on shore, he established the inquisition on board his fleets at sea ; but it existed a very short time, as it was found to impede the progress of navigation. He even carried it to America, where very soon three tribunals were erected, one at Lima, one at Mexico, and one at Carthagena. That at Mexico immediately gave proof of its cruel parentage ; for, in 1574, an auto da fè was celebrated with so much pomp and splendour, that eyewitnesses have declared that it could only be compared to that of Valladolid, in 1559, at which Philip and the royal family attended. Of this some notice will now be taken.

In 1559, an auto da fè had been solemnized at the city of Valladolid, in which a large number of Protestants had been committed to the flames

On his arrival at that place from the Netherlands, Philip was chagrined and mortified at his disappointment in not witnessing a sight in which his cruel heart would have taken such delight. He therefore signified to the inquisition his wish, that all who could be got together, and were left from the auto which had been celebrated, should be burnt for his gratification. The dreadful ceremony, says Watson, more repugnant to humanity as well as to the spirit of the Christian religion, than the most abominable sacrifices recorded in the annals of the pagan world, was conducted with the greatest solemnity which the inquisition could devise ; and the monarch, attended by his son Don Carlos, by his sister, and by his courtiers and guards, sat within sight of the unhappy victims. After hearing a sermon (from which an extract will be given presently) by the bishop of Zamora, he rose from his seat, and having drawn his sword as a signal that with it he would defend the holy faith, he took an oath administered to him by the inquisitor general, to support the inquisition and its ministers against all heretics and apostates, and to compel his subjects everywhere to yield obedience to its decrees.

Among the Protestants condemned, there was a nobleman of the name of Don Carlos de Seso, who, when the executioners were conducting him to the stake, called out to the king for mercy, saying, " And canst thou, oh king, witness the torments

of thy subjects? Save us from this cruel death: we do not deserve it.”—“No,” Philip sternly answered. “I would myself carry wood to burn my own son, were he such a wretch as thou.” After which, he beheld the horrid spectacle that followed with a composure and tranquillity that betokened the most unfeeling heart.

That Philip actually did afterwards cause the inquisition to proceed against and condemn to death his only son Don Carlos, obtained universal belief, and is recorded by almost all writers; but Llorente has shown, beyond all controversy, that the inquisition had nothing to do in the matter. It is an affair, therefore, which belongs to general history. There is little doubt that Don Carlos was stark mad, and must have been condemned to death by his father, if he had not died in the interim, for having attempted parricide, and for having formed a plan for usurping the sovereignty of Flanders by means of a civil war.

In the following year, 1560, an auto was celebrated at Seville, expressly for Philip. One of the most illustrious martyrs was Don Juan Ponce de Leon. Montano, says a sensible author who had been his bosom friend, and performed the mournful task of recording his martyrdom, relates that it was Ponce de Leon’s custom to walk backward and forward upon the place of execution, contemplating it as the theatre upon which so many of his brethren had consummated their sacrifice,

and where he must one day expect, in like manner, to bear witness to the truth. History presents few finer pictures of the effect which certain danger produces upon a mind resolved.

Llorente has given an account of the chief victims of this auto. From his history, one case of deep interest will be selected. Donna Jane Bohorques, a lady of high rank, (whose sister had perished in a former auto, having previously declared in prison that Donna Jane had been familiar with her doctrines and had not opposed them,) was taken to the secret prisons, at the time far advanced in her pregnancy. She was delivered in prison, her child taken from her at the end of eight days, in defiance of the most sacred rights of nature, and she was imprisoned in one of the common dungeons of the holy office. It fortunately happened, that she had as a companion in her cell a young girl who was afterwards burnt as a Lutheran, and who, pitying her situation, treated her with the utmost tenderness during her convalescence. She soon required the same care. She was tortured, and all her limbs were bruised and almost dislocated. Jane Bohorques attended her in this dreadful state. Jane Bohorques was not yet quite recovered when she was tortured in the same manner. The cords with which her still feeble limbs were bound, penetrated to the bone, and several blood-vessels breaking in her body, torrents of blood flowed from her mouth. She

was taken back to her dungeon in a dying state, and expired a few days after. The inquisitors thought they expiated this cruel murder by declaring Jane Bohorques innocent in the *auto da fè* of this day. Under what an overwhelming responsibility, exclaims Llorente, will these monsters appear before the tribunal of the Almighty!

From the sermon which was preached on the occasion of the *auto* at Valladolid, before Philip, as has been stated, and which may serve the reader as an ample specimen of the blasphemous rhapsodies usually employed by the friars at an *auto da fè*, a single extract is now presented:—"And thou, oh most holy tribunal of the faith! for boundless ages mayest thou be preserved, so as to keep us firm and pure in the same faith, and promote the punishment of the enemies of God. Of thee can I say what the Holy Spirit said of the church—'Thou art fair, my love, as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon!' But what parallels, similes, or comparisons are these? What praise, or what heightened contrast can that be which compares a delicate beauty to the tents of Kedar, and the spotted skins of Solomon? St. Jerome discovered the mystery, and says, that the people of Kedar being fond of the chase, therein took great delight; and for this purpose had always their tents pitched in the field, on which, in order to prove the valour of their arms, they spread the skins of the animals killed in chase, and hung up

the heads of the wild beasts they had slain. This was the greatest beauty of their tents ; to this the Holy Spirit compares the beauty of the church ; and this is also to-day the glory of the holy tribunal of the faith. To have killed these horrid wild beasts and enemies of God whom we now behold on this theatre, some by taking life from their errors, reconciling them to our holy faith, and inspiring them with contrition for their faults ; others by condemning them, through their obduracy, to the flames, where, losing their corporeal lives, their obstinate souls will immediately burn in hell. By this means God will be avenged of his greatest enemies, dread will follow these examples, and the holy tribunal will remain triumphant," &c. &c.

Philip II. died in 1589, and was succeeded by Philip III. during whose reign persecution drove from Spain one million of Morescoes, all useful and industrious citizens, who went to Africa. It would occupy too much time and space to trace the enormities of this institution under each successive king. The pusillanimous Charles II. who succeeded in 1665, had implored the inquisition to indulge his barbarous eyes with the spectacle of an auto da fè, and he supplied a fagot for the pile on which his own subjects were to be consumed. The sticks of this fagot were gilt ; it was adorned by flowers, and tied up with ribands, and

it was, on the occasion, the first stick that was placed upon the pile.

During the reign of Philip V. which commenced in 1700, and lasted forty-six years, an annual auto da fè was celebrated in all the tribunals of the inquisition. Some held two, and even three had taken place at Seville and Grenada. Judaism, of which a fuller account will be elsewhere given, was nearly extirpated.

In the reign of Ferdinand VI. literature revived in Spain, for which the way was already paved, and with its revival the fury of this tribunal began to abate. Freemasonry, an object entirely new, was what now chiefly occupied its attention. Charles III. ascended the throne in 1759. There was a remarkable decrease in the number of autos. Knowledge made rapid strides, and the laws of the inquisition, though they had not been altered, were administered upon milder principles.

Charles IV. succeeded in 1788. The Jesuits were expelled, learning made considerable advancement, and the inquisition continued to decline till the year 1808, when Napoleon conquered Spain, and decreed the suppression of the inquisition. In 1813, the cortes general of the kingdom adopted the measure, and declared the tribunal incompatible with the political constitution of the nation. Upon the abdication of Charles, his son Ferdinand VII. was placed upon the throne; but

while he was disputing with his father on the subject of the abdication, which Charles declared was compulsory, and therefore not binding, Napoleon settled the dispute by elevating his brother Joseph to the throne of Spain. "When Joseph was acknowledged king of Spain," says Llorente, who had been secretary of the inquisition, "the archives of the supreme council, and of the inquisition of the court, were confided to me, in consequence of an order from his majesty. With his approbation, I burnt all the criminal processes except those which belonged to history, from their importance, or the rank of the accused."

When Bonaparte, however, restored the crown of Spain to Ferdinand VII. one of the first measures of his administration was to annul the acts of the cortes, and to re-establish the holy office in its full powers. This was in 1814.

It is difficult to know exactly the acts of the inquisition since its re-assumption of power; but the spirit of the tribunal may still be best perceived in its various official documents, amongst which the first is that which contains the instructions transmitted by the respective tribunals of European and American Spain to each of the confessors belonging to their several districts. This document was dated from Seville, in 1815. The other document was issued from Madrid in the same year, and contains a list of prohibited books, which includes almost every book published in Spain

during the revolution. In another edict from Madrid, which paved the way for the one of which mention has just been made, the inquisitors speak of themselves, and of their intentions, in language which cannot be listened to without contempt. "All," says the edict, "having unanimously agreed, that now, as well as ever, moderation, sweetness, and charity ought to shine forth as forming the character of the holy office."

No auto da fè has been celebrated in Spain since the period spoken of. "I myself," says the reverend I. Blanco White, "saw the pile on which the last victim was sacrificed to Roman infallibility. It was an unhappy woman whom the inquisition of Seville committed to the flames under the charge of heresy, in 1785. She perished on a spot where thousands had met the same fate. I lament from my heart that the structure which supported their melting limbs was destroyed during the late convulsions. It should have been preserved with the *infallible* and *immutable* canon of the council of Trent over it, for the detestation of future ages." It may be proper here to remark, that Mr. White, now a minister of the gospel, was formerly a Catholic priest. In the account he gives of himself in his "Practical and Internal Evidences against Catholicism," he says, that "at times light clouds of doubt passed over his mind as to his religion, which at last became so overcast, that he was on the borders of atheism."

Even as late as the year 1817, at the time when Spain was afflicted by many political troubles, Don Juan Van Halen, an officer in the army, was arrested by the inquisition, and thrown successively into its dungeons at Marcia and at Madrid. He gives an account of an individual confined at the same time, whom he heard apostrophizing (perhaps under derangement from his sufferings) the gnats, whom he called devils of priests transformed into gnats, by whom he said he was incessantly tormented, as if they were in the pay of the inquisitors. The holy office was at this time employed as an engine of political tyranny, and Van Halen was seized on account of the part which he took in political affairs. The inquisitors long strove in vain to induce him to betray such of his friends and associates as they wished to criminate. At last, one of the inquisitors, Zorrilla, wearied with the delay, and infuriated by the contumacy of the prisoner, suddenly addressed him in mingled tones of impiety and rage—"This holy tribunal has at last recourse to rigour. It will extort from you truths which neither the duty of a religious oath, demanded without violence, nor the mild admonitions which have been so often resorted to, in order to induce you to make the desired declarations, have been able to obtain. We judge the cause of our divine Redeemer, and of our Catholic king, &c. &c. The most rigorous torments will be employed to obtain from you these truths,

or you shall expire in the midst of them, &c. Justice, God, and the king require that it should be so. This holy tribunal will fulfil its duties. Yes !”—

“ The agitation of the moment permitted me to utter only a few words, which, however, were not listened to, and I was hurried away to the farther end of the room, the jailer and his assistants exerting all their strength to secure me. Having succeeded in raising me from the ground, they placed under my arm-pits two high crutches, from which I remained suspended ; after which my right arm was tied to the corresponding crutch, while my left being kept in a horizontal position, they encased my hand open in a wooden glove extending to the wrist, which shut very tightly, and from which two large iron bars ran as far as the shoulders, keeping the whole in the same position in which it was placed. My waist and legs were similarly bound to the crutches by which I was supported ; so that I shortly remained without any other action than that of breathing, though with difficulty.

“ Having remained a short time in this painful position, that unmerciful tribunal returned to their former charges. Zorrilla, with a tremulous voice that seemed to evince his thirst for blood and vengeance, repeated the first of those charges which he had just read, namely, whether I did not belong to a society whose object was to overthrow

our holy religion, and the august throne of our Catholic sovereign? I replied that it was impossible I should plead guilty to an accusation of that nature.—‘Without any subterfuge, say whether it is so,’ he added in an angry tone.—‘It is not, sir,’ I replied. The glove which guided my arm, and which seemed to be resting on a wheel, began now to turn, and with its movements I felt, by degrees, an acute pain, especially from the elbow to the shoulder, a general convulsion throughout my frame, and a cold sweat overspreading my face. The interrogatory continued, but Zorrilla’s question of ‘Is it so? Is it so?’ were the only words that struck my ear amidst the excruciating pain I endured, which became so intense that I fainted away, and heard no more the voices of those cannibals.

“When I recovered my senses, I found myself stretched on the floor of my dungeon, my hands and feet secured with heavy fetters and manacles, fastened by a thick chain, the nails of which my tormentors were still rivetting. It was with much difficulty that I dragged myself to my bed. It seemed to me that the noise of my chains would awaken my jailers, whose presence was to me the most fatal of my torments. I spent the whole of this night struggling with the intense pains which were the effect of the torture, and with the workings of my excited mind. This state of mental agitation, and the burning fever, which was every

moment increasing, soon threw me into a delirium, during which I scarcely noticed the operation performed by my jailers of opening the seams of my coat to examine the state of my arm."

After languishing a long time, and enduring great sufferings, he succeeded in effecting his escape in the beginning of 1818, took refuge in the Russian dominions, visited England and France, and returned to Spain in 1821.

In the year 1820, when the inquisition was thrown open by the cortes of Madrid, upwards of a score of prisoners was found in it, not one of whom knew the name of the city in which he was, nor was any one of them perfectly aware of the crime laid to his charge. One of these prisoners, says Llorente, had been condemned, and was to have suffered on the following day. His punishment was to be *death by the pendulum*. The method of thus destroying the victim is as follows:—The condemned is fastened in a groove upon a table, on his back; suspended above him is a pendulum, the edge of which is sharp, and it is so constructed as to become longer with every movement. The wretch sees this implement of destruction swinging to and fro above him, and every moment the keen edge approaching nearer and nearer: at length it cuts the skin of his nose, and gradually cuts on, until life is extinct. It may be doubted if the holy office, in its mercy, ever invented a more humane and rapid

method of exterminating heresy, or insuring confiscation ! This, let it be remembered, was a punishment of the secret tribunal, A. D. 1820!!!

CHAPTER VI.

Establishment of the inquisition in Portugal—Saavedra the swindler—His achievements and punishment—Jews in Portugal—Their sufferings—The New Christians cruelly treated—*Diminutos*—Anecdote—Injurious consequences to Portugal from the persecution of the New Christians—Distinction between Old and New Christians abolished.

THE establishment of the inquisition in Portugal was attended by circumstances too curious to be omitted in this volume, although the subject had been involved in unnecessary doubt. The first bloody harvest was over in Spain before the reapers descended into the fields of Portugal ; for this country had successfully resisted all the attempts of the popes to introduce it. A swindler is said to have effected at last what the court of Rome had ceased to attempt. This man's name was Juan de Saavedra. Having long lived by his wits, and being especially dextrous in forging public grants, he conceived that it would be a good speculation to act as inquisitor in Portugal ; and accordingly he made a journey into that country for the purpose of reconnoitring it, and learning

in what manner it would be expedient to proceed. Returning towards Andalusia, he met with a member of a newly established order coming from Rome with certain bulls, relating to its establishment: he had not been named himself to any place of honour or trust in these bulls, and this had soured him. Saavedra offered to forge new ones for him, and insert his name in the manner he desired, which was done accordingly, and the forger retained the originals for his own purpose. Having now a prototype before him, he drew up such a bull as he wanted, and affixed to it the genuine seals. This was done at Tavira in Algarve.

His next measure was to return to Ayamonte, where there was a provincial of the Franciscans, who had lately arrived from Rome. Saavedra made his appearance in the character of a simple man, saying, that six well-dressed men, travelling post, had dropped these parchments upon the road, which he had found shortly afterwards; and knowing that the provincial understood such things, he had brought them to him, meaning, if they were of any consequence, to lose no time in following the persons to whom they must have belonged. The Franciscan examined the parchment, and was delighted to find that it was a bull for the establishment of the holy office. He charged Saavedra, therefore, to lose no time in overtaking the cardinal and his party.

The impostor had two reasons for proceeding in

this manner : he wished to satisfy himself that the forgery was well executed, and also to spread abroad the tidings, which would facilitate his operations. The next business was, by means of his accomplices, one of whom acted as his secretary, to establish a household at Seville. They engaged above sixscore domestics, and the chapel was fitted up for the cardinal's reception. At a fit time they gave out that they were going to Badajoz, to wait for their master there : accordingly all the baggage was packed up, and they departed ; but when they had proceeded, Saavedra met them ; they received him with the greatest expressions of joy and surprise, and returned to Seville, where he made his entrance amid the rejoicings of the whole people. Here he was lodged in the archbishop's palace, and remained twenty days, during which he produced a bond for thirteen thousand ducats due to him from the marquis of Tarija, for money lent at Rome : the date was accurate, the signature well executed, and he found no difficulty in obtaining them. Having done this, he moved on to Badajoz, and from thence despatched his secretary to the king of Portugal with letters from the pope and the emperor. The king was astonished, and expressed displeasure by the manner of his silence : the secretary was alarmed, and hastily returning to Saavedra, entreated him to be content with what they had already gained, and to think only of enjoying it in security.

The dauntless swindler, however, persisted in his project, sent his accomplice back to Lisbon, and directed him not to leave the palace till he had received an answer from the king: he told him also not to fail to observe that the cardinal was a young man, and would immediately return to Rome with the answer, be it what it might. Joam, confounded, and perhaps intimidated, required twenty days to deliberate, which Saavedra readily granted, because it was not possible to communicate with Rome in that time. At the end of those days the king sent to conduct the mock cardinal into Portugal. Counsellors of course would not be wanting to recommend obedience, and Joam was too timid to risk any thing like a direct opposition to the commands of the pope. The impostor was lodged three months in the palace, established the holy office, and spent three months more in travelling about the country, exercising his inquisitorial powers wherever he went, and amassing money to a degree which seems to have besotted him.

The trick, however, was discovered in Spain, and the marquis of Barca Rota having made a priest at Moura invite the mock cardinal to a feast, seized him, and sent him prisoner to Madrid. Cardinal Tavira, who was at that time grand inquisitor and governor of Castile during the emperor's absence, examined him, and sent an account of the whole proceedings to Rome. Saavedra had

speculated well, and the very magnitude of the imposture contributed to save him. He had done that for the Romish church which the pope himself had been unable to effect ; and the holy father, concluding that it must be the especial will of heaven to bring about so good a work by such extraordinary means, recommended a merciful sentence, and hinted that he should like to see the man who had acted so remarkable a part. The royal council demanded sentence of death ; but the cardinal favoured him ; the inquisitor of Llerena was appointed judge : 300,000 ducats, which he had extorted from those whom he had seized and condemned, or reconciled to the church, were taken from him, and he escaped with condemnation to the galleys for ten years. Light as this sentence was, it was not carried into effect. Charles V. admiring the audacity of the man, was curious to see him ; and having heard his defence, admitted that so good an end might be pleaded in justification of the means, and rewarded him with a pension.

If the reader of this strange account of the establishment of the inquisition in the kingdom of Portugal have any doubt upon his mind, he has only to turn to the history of the whole transaction as given by Llorente from the most authentic documents. The statement which this remarkable impostor himself made contains several misrepresentations ; but the facts themselves are beyond

all controversy. The affair of the false nuncio is familiar to the world, in histories, romances, and dramatic pieces. It should be observed, however, that Llorente goes no further than to prove that Saavedra, finding the inquisition established in Portugal in a manner contrary to his notions, went to work to put it on a different footing, and actually succeeded in changing it into the form it had in Spain, which was his model.

In a former chapter an account of the persecutions of the Jews, and of their expulsion by the inquisition from Spain, was given. A great number of this injured people applied to Joam II. king of Portugal, offering him a large sum for permission to enter his kingdom and embark for Africa. Some of the Portuguese counsellors advised the king to refuse them a passage ; urging, that if they were driven to despair, they would submit to be baptized ; which, however little it might profit the stubborn natures of the old, would prove effectual for their children. Joam, however, wanted money, and wanted the Jews also, of whom he expected to make use in his African conquests and colonies. He therefore admitted them, upon paying a toll of eight cruzados a head, babes at the breast only were exempted ; armourers and artificers in brass or iron were to enter at half price, if they chose to remain in Portugal. The places by which they were to enter were specified, and toll-gatherers stationed to admit them. These per-

secuted wretches brought the plague with them ; great numbers died by the road-side and in the waste country, for lack of all human charity. The calamities which they subsequently endured in this country and in Africa rendered them desperate, and many of them consented to baptism, and returned to Spain, fancying that now they had made the sacrifice, they should be secure. Little did they foresee the curse which they thus brought upon themselves and entailed upon their posterity. The miseries of the New Christians, as they were styled, were greater than those to which either the Jews or the Moors had been subjected.

The troubles which the Jews had to encounter after their re-settlement in Portugal and Spain, forced them to adopt every possible means of mitigating the fury of their persecutors ; but the greatest effort of the New Christians to obtain relief was in the time of Pedro II. They petitioned for an act of oblivion for the past, and required that the inquisition should act upon the principles of that of Rome. If this were granted, they promised that they would, within one year, land five thousand troops in any part of India, and contribute twenty thousand cruzados annually towards the military expenses of that remote region ; that they would defray the cost of all the missions and schools, and of sending out all the governors and viceroys. That they would contribute to the support of a minister at Rome, grant large subsidies

in war, and form an East India Company, with a large capital, all the duties of which should go to the crown ; and that they would do other things of great import to the general weal. But all their exertions proved unavailing in procuring any radical and permanent amelioration of their condition.

The principle upon which the inquisition acted was, that Judaism was like the scrofula—once in the system, there was no getting it out ; it mattered not how deeply the breed was crossed, whether a man was a half-new Christian, or a quarteron, or a half-quarteron, (for the degrees were as nicely discriminated as the shades of colour in the Spanish colonies,) the Hebrew leaven was in the blood. The vulgar were taught to believe that Judaism could be sucked in with the milk of a Jewish nurse. This was directly opposite to the practice of the Romish church towards all other converts : if a missionary could sprinkle a savage or a Hindoo, they were satisfied. A story is told of a female devotee in Japan, who used to invoke the name of Ameda one hundred and forty thousand times in the course of the day and night, that being her whole employment. The Romish missionaries succeeded in converting her ; and the effect was, that she left off invoking Ameda, and called upon the virgin Mary one hundred and forty thousand times a day. Why, therefore, when such conversions as these were boasted of, were

the New Christians dealt with so differently ? Because the Portuguese inquisition was literally and truly a confederacy, for the purpose of acquiring property by imprisoning, torturing, ruining, and destroying whole families, under false pretences of Judaism.

The New Christians were rich, because the same causes which have always made the Jews flourish wherever they have been left in peace, held good with respect to these compulsory converts. Whenever a victim was seized, his property was also seized. One witness for any charge, even though he were a fellow-sufferer in the inquisition, which was usually the case, was sufficient. The charges were generally, refusing to eat pork, or hare, or fish without scales, or putting on a clean shirt on Saturdays, and others of a similar nature ; being always such as it was next to impossible to disprove. Those who persisted to the last that they were innocent of Judaism, that they were Catholics, and would die in the Catholic faith, were sentenced as convicted and negative ; and this difference was made between them and the real Jewish martyr, that they were strangled at the stake, while the latter was burnt alive. But by far the greater number of persons whom the inquisition has put to death as Jews, have died protesting themselves Christians, and invoking the name of Jesus with their expiring breath.

At the time these executions were in frequent

use, foreign Jews were suffered to frequent Portugal on business, on condition of wearing a distinguishing dress, and being always attended by a familiar of the inquisition. It is related of one of them, that he went with his familiar to see an *auto da fè*. First in the procession came the penitents ; these, he was told, had confessed they were Jews, and besought mercy : a light punishment would be imposed on them. Those who were to be burnt followed. "Would not they then ask mercy?" inquired the Jew. He was told they were to suffer for being negative, and refusing to confess that they were Jews. "If they appointed me inquisitor," said the Jew to his familiar, "I would act in the same manner. I would let all who confessed themselves Jews go, and would burn those who denied it."

Horrible as this is, it is not the most atrocious part of the proceeding of the holy office. The case of those persons who were called *Diminutos*, was more pitiable than those who died for persisting in the truth. By the practice of this accursed tribunal, the accused was neither informed of the precise fact with which he was charged, nor the names of his accusers. In most cases it happened that hope and fear, and human weakness, made him admit that he was guilty—the great object of the inquisition being to obtain this confession, because confiscation followed ; and the fairest promises were never spared to bring about this end. But

here the unhappy man found himself caught in a web of iniquity. He must now confess of what he is guilty, and who were the persons whom he suspected of having borne witness against him. If he failed in this, he suffered as a *Diminuto*, that is, for not having confessed in full ; and went to execution with the miserable reflection of having involved all whom he named in the same calamities with himself : for these poor wretches would ransack their memories to save themselves, by the vicarious sacrifice which this devilish tribunal required ; run through the whole of their kin to the remotest branches, and put down their bosom friends and most distant acquaintances in the fatal list. One instance is upon record, of a man who accused in this manner his own daughter, whom at the age of five he had put into a nunnery ; and from her nunnery, in consequence, she was dragged to the inquisition. A woman who suffered as a *Diminuta* had accused above six hundred persons, yet failing to guess her own accusers, was led out to execution. On the way, her daughter, who appeared in the same *auto da fè*, called to her aloud to remind her of some relations, hoping to enable her to save her life. “Child,” she replied, “I have left no one unmentioned either in Castile or Portugal.” They both died protesting their innocence, and declaring they confessed themselves guilty, and accused others, in the hope of saving their lives.

But the cases of startling cruelty and injustice which might be cited are inexhaustible. What were the consequences? An emigration, slow, silent, and continual, followed, unlike that of the Moors from Spain, and the Huguenots from France, but even more pernicious and baleful. Those New Christians who could leave the country, left it; they whom circumstances rooted, as it were, to the soil, sent their property abroad, that it might at least be out of the reach of the inquisition. The emigrants carried with them a natural hatred of the country; they submitted plans of conquest for the Dutch; furnished information and money, and enabled the Dutch to wrest from the Portuguese their dominions in the east, and their best possessions in Africa. Long years of a wiser system and a prosperous commerce had not obliterated the visible marks of ruin and depopulation, and the government must have become bankrupt had not treasures unexpectedly flowed in from the mines of Brazil. Before that resource failed, the marquis of Pombal had abolished the distinction between Old and New Christians. He rescued the New Christians, and there were no heretics in the peninsula for the same reason there are no Christians in Japan—they had been exterminated!

CHAPTER VII.

Geddes's account of the Portuguese inquisition—Familiars—Manner of treating prisoners—Torture—Auto da fê—Sentence of death—Inquisition at Goa—Pyrard—Dellon's account of his sufferings in the inquisition of Goa.

DR. GEDDES has given an interesting view of the inquisition in Portugal. Of this writer it has been said, that if he was prejudiced, it was because, having the abomination of popery in its worst form before his eyes, his hatred and horror at what he hourly witnessed prevented him from seeing that any good could possibly co-exist with it. Some particulars relating to the proceedings of the holy office in Portugal will now be drawn and abridged from this interesting author.

In Portugal, as indeed in all other countries where this tribunal has been erected, the office of familiars is deemed so honourable, that noblemen and the most eminent persons feel it a distinction to be employed in this vile office.

All persons, however infamous or perjured, are admitted by this inquisition as witnesses, and the first question asked the prisoner by his judges is, whether he knows why he was arrested. If he answers in the negative, he is then asked whether he knows for what crimes the inquisition usually imprisons people. If he replies, "for heresy," he

is admonished to confess his own heresies, and to discover his teachers and accomplices. If he denies ever having held any heresies, or holding communication with heretics, he is gravely told the inquisition does not imprison rashly, and that he would do well to confess his guilt, as the holy office is merciful to those that confess. He is then remanded to jail, being previously advised to examine his conscience, that the next time he is sent for, he may come prepared to make a full and free confession. After the lapse of days, months, or years, as the case may be, he is summoned again; and if he persists in declaring that he cannot make the confession they require of him without accusing himself and others falsely, they put a great number of questions to him, and conclude by telling him they have sufficient proof of his being a heretic. He is sent back to his prison, charged to pray to God for grace to dispose him to make a full confession to the saving of his soul, which is all they seek for. Being now allowed a considerable time to pray and consider, he is brought up a third time; and if he persists in denial as before, he is asked a variety of questions, which terminate in their telling him that they have evidence enough to put him to the torture of the rack, to make him confess.

While the executioner is preparing that engine of unspeakable cruelty, and is taking off the prisoner's clothes, exhorting him still to have mercy

on his own soul and body, and confess, if he persists to refuse to accuse himself and others falsely, the inquisitors order the executioners to do their duty ; upon which small cords are twisted around the prisoner's arms, and he is jerked up in the air till his limbs are all dislocated, when the torment becomes exquisite. The poor victim calls for mercy, and often cries out that he must expire if they do not give him some ease, which the inquisitors do not regard, as they say all persons racked think themselves nearer death than they really are. If this agony is endured without confession, which is rarely the case even with the most innocent, the poor wretch is carried to prison, where a surgeon sets his bones. In all other courts where torture was employed, if the prisoner endured without confession, he was esteemed innocent ; but in the inquisition it was different : there individuals were racked a second, and even a third time, though few ever live through the last infliction. If the prisoner in his acute anguish makes a confession, whether true or false, he is obliged to subscribe his name to it, and thus the want of sufficient evidence is supplied by this extortion. But it is a very hard matter for any person to escape being racked, since neither confessing nor denying exempts the victims of the holy office.

All this time, it must be observed, they maintain the singular and iniquitous custom of keeping

the prisoners ignorant of the crimes of which they are accused, and of the persons by whom the accusation has been made, so that it is scarce possible to make a defence, even if a defence would be of any avail. The prisoner is next furnished with an advocate and proctor for his mock trial, who, far from being instruments of justice, are nothing but tools of the tribunal, more inclined to ensnare the culprit than to render him any benefit.

If an individual commits suicide, or dies a natural death in the prison of the inquisition, still they do not make their escape from the untiring and relentless holy office. In the first case it is esteemed a clear and undeniable evidence of guilt; and in the second case the trial goes on as if the person were alive. But the power of this accursed bar extends further still; for forty years after death an individual may be tried and convicted of having died a heretic, and his property be confiscated; and, as to the taking of persons out of their graves, burning their bones, depriving them of their good name, and rendering their memories odious, there is no limit of time, such is their inextinguishable malice.

The next scene in this melancholy tragedy is the *auto da fè*. This "horrid and tremendous spectacle," as an inquisitorial author calls it, which will be described more fully hereafter, is always represented on the Sabbath day. All the unhappy beings who figure in this catastrophe, have some-

thing in their looks ghastly and disconsolate beyond all imagination; but in the eyes and countenances of those who are to be burnt to death, there is an expression fierce, eager, and unnatural!

The prisoners who are to be roasted alive have a Jesuit on each side continually preaching to them to abjure their heresies, and if any one attempts to offer one word in defence of the doctrines for which he is going to suffer death, his mouth is instantly gagged. "This I saw done to a prisoner," says Dr. Geddes, "presently after he came out of the gates of the inquisition, upon his having looked up to the sun, which he had not seen before in several years, and cried out in a rapture, 'How is it possible for people that behold that glorious body to worship any being but Him that created it.'"

When the procession arrives at the place where a large scaffolding has been erected for their reception, prayers are offered up, strange to tell, at a throne of mercy, and a sermon is preached, consisting of impious praises of the inquisition, and bitter invectives against all heretics; after which a priest ascends a desk, and recites the final sentence. This is done in the following words, wherein the reader will find nothing but a shocking mixture of blasphemy, ferociousness, and hypocrisy.

"We, the inquisitors of heretical pravity, having, with the concurrence of the most illustrious

N—— lord archbishop of Lisbon, or of his deputy N——, calling on the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of his glorious mother, the virgin Mary, and sitting on our tribunal, and judging with the holy gospels lying before us, so that our judgment may be in the sight of God, and our eyes may behold what is just in all matters, &c. &c.

“ We do therefore, by this our sentence put in writing, define, pronounce, declare, and sentence thee, (the prisoner,) of the city of Lisbon, to be a convicted, confessing, affirmative, and professed heretic; and to be delivered and left by us as such to the secular arm; and we, by this our sentence, do cast thee out of the ecclesiastical court as a convicted, confessing, affirmative, and professed heretic; and we do leave and deliver thee to the secular arm, and to the power of the secular court, *but at the same time do most earnestly beseech that court so to moderate its sentence as not to touch thy blood, nor to put thy life in any sort of danger.*”

History cannot yield a parallel instance of such gross and palpable mockery both of God and man, as this request to the civil magistrates not to put the prisoner to death. If the request came from the heart, why are the victims brought forth from prison, and delivered to those magistrates in coats painted all over with flames? Why does the inquisition preach and teach that heretics ought to be burnt? And why, with all the power they

possess, and which they make fall with such crushing force on all who really offend them, do they never even find fault with the magistrates for burning those whom they beseech them not to hurt? The fact is, there is an old ecclesiastical order which forbids the clergy from having any hand in the blood of any person, and by this miserable sophistry they profess to obey the letter of the order, while they glut their vengeance by infringing its spirit.

If the prisoner, on being asked, says that he will die in the Catholic faith, he has the privilege of being strangled first, and then burnt; but if in the Protestant or any other faith different from the Catholic, he must be roasted alive; and at parting with him, his ghostly comforters, the Jesuits, tell him, "that they leave him to the devil, who is standing at his elbow to receive his soul and carry it to the flames of hell, as soon as the spirit leaves his body."

But as a proof of the effect which the inquisition has in hardening the heart, and converting human beings into wolves and tigers, Dr. Geddes relates, that the people of Lisbon of both sexes, as indeed everywhere else, regard these victims expiring slowly in the agonies of fire, and screaming continually for mercy in the name of God, with transports of hellish joy. "Who," exclaims the author, "that reads a description of such spectacles, than which out of hell itself there can be

nothing more lamentable, does not feel his heart expand with gratitude to the Almighty for the mighty blessings and happiness we enjoy in our country, where the pure and merciful principles of the gospel of Christ are understood and practised, and every human being is permitted to worship God under his own vine and fig-tree, and none to molest and make him afraid." A congratulation in which every American reader can unite with all his heart.

In a former part of this chapter, the sufferings of the New Christians were narrated. The foregoing account of the torments inflicted upon heretics, serves to show the same cruel spirit as manifested by the inquisition against another class of victims; and while it enters with a more painful minuteness into its horrible practices, it is offered as a fair sample of the manner of proceeding of the holy office, as adopted in all countries, and against all persons whom that tribunal chose to persecute.

As the discoveries and conquests of the Spaniards, as well as of the Portuguese extended, so did the crimson banner of the inquisition, not only in the new world, but also in India. Pyrard, an early traveller, has given an account of the bloody deeds of this tribunal in Goa, where, he declares, nothing could be more cruel or more merciless than their conduct; but to show the avaricious motives by which they were impelled, he affirms that the moment prisoners are taken, all their

goods are seized ; that few are arrested who have not the misfortune to be rich, and that it was the rich alone whom they put to death.

As a still further illustration of the history of the Portuguese inquisition at Goa, the narrative of a young gentleman of the name of Dellon, a native of France, who went to the East Indies for the purpose of travelling, and who fell into the hands of the holy office at Goa, one of the most important settlements of Portugal in the east, will now be followed, even at the risk of some repetition, which it is impossible entirely to avoid. At the time his troubles commenced, Dellon was staying at the town of Damaun, belonging also to the Portuguese, with a view to rest and recruit himself after the fatigues of the various journeys and voyages he had made. The governor of the place had conceived a violent dislike to him growing out of a feeling of jealousy, and from this animosity, concealed under the mask of friendship, sprung all his subsequent persecutions, although they were attributed to various other pretexts. One of these pretexts arose from a dispute he had with an individual of the order of St. Dominic, on the subject of baptism. Dellon quoted the passage in St. John —“ Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot see the kingdom of heaven.” The priest, offended at a quotation which was intended to exclude one of the modes of baptism held by the Romish church, immediately and secretly de-

nounced him to the holy office. Another pretext was, that on several occasions he had omitted to show that idolatrous veneration to the painted images of the virgin Mary which was required by the church, and for imprudently asserting that images ought not to be "worshipped." Another alleged offence was, that on being told by one of his neighbours that he must put a cover or veil over the crucifix in his room whenever he wished to commit any sin, he replied, it was impossible to conceal any thing from God, and that "the crucifix was in itself nothing but a piece of ivory." This neighbour, knowing he would be punished if he neglected to accuse any person who spoke or acted contrary to any tenet of the church, felt it a duty to carry the information to this hateful court, which makes it a duty for friends to betray friends, parents their children, and children their parents. In a conversation afterwards in company, he expressed an opinion that inquisitors were human, and subject to passions like other judges. Upon being told that he ought not to dare to speak in such a manner—that "the tribunal was infallible because the Holy Ghost perpetually dictated its decisions," he entered, with some warmth, to show that it had been guilty of some undeniable instances of injustice. Every thing was laid before the inquisition, and ultimately brought down the wrath of that tribunal upon the unfortunate young man, whose only fault was indiscretion.

Dellon having become apprized that he was in danger, the dread of being dragged before the holy office by the malice of his enemies impelled him to go in person to the commissary, and ingenuously relate all that had occurred, assuring him that he had no bad intention, and that he was willing to correct or retract any thing improper which he might have advanced. Soon after this he was arrested, to his utter surprise, and conducted to the inquisitorial prison of Damaun.

A description of the melancholy abode in which he found himself, without being conscious of having committed any crime, would be frightful. It would also be superfluous, as a general picture of inquisitorial prisons will be given in another place. It is sufficient to say, that an immense quantity of worms crawled over the floor, and upon the beds on which the wretched prisoners in vain sought the blessings of repose. The friends of Dellon constantly inculcated that the best and surest way of regaining liberty, was to make a full confession. Accordingly, he wrote to the grand inquisitor at Goa a frank statement of the whole matter, and besought him to believe, that if he had erred, it was rather from levity and imprudence, than from any ill intentions. To this letter he received no reply, but was left to languish in his noisome dungeon.

An order arrived, some months after, to transfer the prisoners to Goa, and Dellon, with the rest,

all loaded with heavy fetters, was put on board, and after enduring many miseries on the voyage, they were at length immured in the prison of Goa. This was more foul and horrible than any he had yet seen, and perhaps nothing could be more nauseous and appalling. It was a sort of cavern, where the day was but just distinguishable ; and where the subtlest sunbeam scarce ever penetrated. The stench was excessive ; but when night approached he could not lie down, for fear of the swarms of vermin and the filth which abounded everywhere ; and he was constrained to recline against the wall.

Very soon after he was summoned before the grand inquisitor of the Indies, Francisco Delgado e Matos, before whom he behaved in the same frank manner as on the former occasions : he besought his judge to hear his whole story, and added tears to his entreaties ; but the judge, without showing the least emotion, ordered him back to his prison ; telling him that there was no haste, and that he had other business more important to attend to. An inventory of Dellon's property was then made, which was all ridiculous, as nothing was ever restored.

He had several audiences before his cruel judges, in which, though he manifested his penitence, he found no relief, or even hope of pardon ; till at last he abandoned himself to grief. Driven to despair, in a paroxysm of madness, he attempted to destroy his life, and made a variety of trials to

effect his purpose, for which he afterwards humbled himself before Almighty God and asked forgiveness.

He had been eighteen months in the inquisition, when he was called to a fourth audience, which differed from all the former, wherein he had only been his own accuser ; but here informations were formally laid against him to the holy office, and his own confessions made a part of the depositions. He assured the court that he had no intention to controvert the doctrines of the Catholic church on baptism ; but that the passage, “except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God,” having struck him as very particular, he had demanded an explanation. The grand inquisitor was entirely ignorant of this passage, and on being shown the very words in the New Testament, he attempted no explanation, but abandoned the subject. Such ignorance was worthy of a man who presided over such a nefarious court ! The result of this audience was, that the prisoner’s property was confiscated, and that he was himself delivered over to the secular power, to be punished according to law ; that is, to be burnt !

Nothing now remained but patiently to wait his fate, although he was compelled to remain in dreadful suspense as to what his punishment would really be ultimately. Every effort was made to force him to confess that he had spoken disrespectfully of the pope, and that his object had been to

support heresy ; but as these were false imputations, the prisoner would not yield to their urgent and wicked zeal to force him to confess a lie before God. In this state of uncertainty he expected the approach of the first Sunday in Advent, thinking that the *auto da fè*, which would determine his fate, would then take place ; because in the service of that day is read a portion of the gospel which describes the day of judgment, and the inquisitors select the day on that account.

Several little events occurred which led him to believe the moment of the awful ceremony was not far distant. It was impossible not to feel some sentiment of pleasure at the idea of being raised from the tomb in which he had been buried for years ; but the dreadful denunciation of the court filled him with anxiety and melancholy. Overcome at last by vexation and deathly images, he dropped into a sleep, from which he was awakened by the noise of the guards drawing back the bolts of his cell. He was seized with such a trepidation that it was a long time before he could summon resolution to put on the garments which had been left by his visiters.

In the *auto da fè* which followed, Dellon marched in the ranks with the other prisoners, with his head and feet bare, through the streets of Goa, for more than an hour, the sharp flint stones which covered the streets causing his feet to stream with blood—an object of pity to the immense crowd which had

come from all parts of India to witness the ceremony. Here a very natural reflection would arise as to the folly and inconsistency of attempting to propagate the gospel, which breathes a spirit of gentleness, charity, and forgiveness, and of exhibiting, with so much pomp and parade, the merciless horrors of such an institution, before those pagans whom it was their professed object to instruct in the truths of Christianity to bring them to salvation, and who could not but detect the dreadful variance between the precepts and practice of those who professed to follow and imitate Christ; and who, moreover, could not help beholding their own rites and ceremonies outdone in cruelty by the more sanguinary doings of Christians.

When they arrived at the church, a priest of the Augustine order ascended the pulpit, and preached for a long time. Among other things, he drew a comparison between the inquisition and Noah's ark, in which, however, he noted this distinction, that the creatures which entered the ark, left it on the cessation of the deluge with their original natures; whereas the inquisition had this singular characteristic, that those who came within its walls cruel as wolves and fierce as lions, went forth gentle as lambs.

The sermon being finished, the different victims were called up separately to receive their respective sentences. The sentence of Dellon was

excommunication, forfeiture of all his goods to the king, banishment from the Indies, and condemnation to serve in the galleys of Portugal for five years, with such other penances as the inquisitors might think proper to add. Besides all these, he was obliged to bind himself, by the most sacred oaths, to observe a profound and inviolable secrecy as to every thing which had come to his knowledge during his long detention, a practice universal in the inquisition to conceal their atrocities, and which they enforce with all the terrors of their power.

In pursuance of the sentence, he was conveyed in irons on board a vessel bound for Portugal, and after the fatigues and privations of the voyage, he arrived at Lisbon about the close of the year 1676, where he was immediately placed in the prison called the Galley, to which, as the Portuguese do not use galleys in their marine, those who are sentenced to them by the holy office are sent. He was chained by the leg to a man who had escaped the night before from being burnt by making a confession. In this situation five long years more of suffering still remained ; but Dellon obtained the privilege of writing to his relations in France, and acquainting them with his deplorable condition. Through the zeal of an individual high in the favour of the queen of Portugal, the intercession of friends, and the application of many persons of rank, he at length experienced the unspeakable

delight of being set at liberty upon condition of his leaving the country at once. It is unnecessary to say with how much eagerness he embraced the conditions, happy to escape, and grateful to Heaven for having preserved him through so many years of peril and suffering. For years afterwards he was unwilling, from conscientious scruples, to reveal what had happened to him; till, at last, being convinced in heart that it was a duty which he owed both to God and man to disregard the oath which had been extorted by duress, he published his interesting narrative to the world.

CHAPTER VIII.

Buchanan visits the inquisition at Goa—His reception—Puts Dellon's work in the hands of one of the inquisitors—Conversations on the subject—Inquisition of Goa abolished in 1812.

IN continuation of the subject of the preceding chapter, the reader will listen with interest and satisfaction to an abridgment of the account given by the Rev. Dr. Buchanan, in his "Christian Researches in Asia," who visited, in the year 1808, the city of Goa, with the work of Dellon in his hand, for the express purpose of finding what was the actual state and present condition of the inquisition described by that author.

There are two cities, Old Goa and New Goa. The old city, where the inquisition and the churches are, is now deserted by almost every one but priests. On his arrival at New Goa, Dr. Buchanan intimated his wish to the viceroy to sail up to the old city and see the inquisition, to which he politely acceded. A Portuguese officer, major Pareira, offered to accompany him, and introduce the doctor to the archbishop, who was the primate of the orient.

“I had communicated to colonel Adams and to the British resident, my purpose of inquiring into the state of the inquisition. These gentlemen informed me that I should not be able to accomplish my design without difficulty, seeing every thing relating to the inquisition was conducted in a very secret manner, the most respectable of the lay Portuguese themselves being ignorant of its proceedings; and that if the priests were to discover my object, their excessive jealousy and alarm would prevent their communicating with me, or satisfying my inquiries on the subject. On receiving this intelligence, I perceived that it would be necessary to proceed with great caution. I was, in fact, about to visit a republic of priests, whose dominion had existed for nearly three centuries; whose province it was to prosecute heretics, and particularly the teachers of heresy; and from whose authority and sentence there was no appeal in India.”

Lieutenant Kempthorne joined the company, and they proceeded up the river. From major Pareira he learned that there were upwards of two hundred churches and chapels in the province of Goa, and more than two thousand priests.

“On our arrival at the city,” continues he, “it was past twelve o’clock; all the churches were shut, and we were told they would not be opened again until two o’clock. I mentioned to major Pareira, that I intended to stay at Old Goa some days, and that I should be obliged to him to find me some place to sleep in. He seemed surprised at this intimation, and observed that it would be difficult for me to obtain reception in any of the churches or convents, and that there were no private houses into which I could be admitted. I said I could sleep anywhere. I had two servants with me, and a travelling bed. When he perceived that I was serious in my purpose, he gave directions to a civil officer in that place to clear out a room in a building which had been long uninhabited. Matters at this time presented a very gloomy appearance, and I had thoughts of returning with my companions from this inhospitable place.

“In the mean time we sat down in the room I have just mentioned, to take some refreshment, while major Pareira went to call on some of his friends. During this interval I communicated to lieutenant Kempthorne the object of my visit. I had in my pocket “Dellon’s Account of the Inqui-

sition at Goa," and I mentioned some particulars. While we were conversing on the subject, the great bell began to toll, the same which Dellon observes always tolls before daylight on the morning of the *auto da fè*. I did not myself ask any questions of the people concerning the inquisition, but Mr. Kempthorne made inquiries for me ; and he soon found out that the *sancta casa*, or holy office, was close to the house where we were then sitting. The gentlemen went to the window to view the horrid mansion, and I could see the indignation of free and enlightened men arise in the countenances of the two British officers, while they contemplated a place where formerly their own countrymen were condemned to the flames, and into which they themselves might now suddenly be thrown, without the possibility of rescue.

"The day being now far spent, and my companions about to leave me, I was considering whether I should return with them, when major Pareira said he would first introduce me to a priest high in office, and one of the most learned men in the place. We accordingly walked to the convent of the Augustinians, where I was presented to Joseph a Doloribus, a man well advanced in life, of pale visage and penetrating eye, rather of a reverend appearance, and possessing great fluency of speech and urbanity of manners. After a half hour's conversation in the Latin language, during which he adverted rapidly to a variety of subjects,

he politely invited me to take up my residence with him during my stay in old Goa. I was highly gratified by this unexpected invitation ; but lieutenant Kempthorne did not approve of leaving me in the hands of the *inquisitor* ; for judge of our surprise, when we discovered that my learned host was one of the inquisitors of the holy office, the second member of that tribunal in rank, but first and most active agent in the business of the department. Apartments were assigned to me in the college adjoining the convent, next to the rooms of the inquisitor himself ; and here I have been four days at the very fountain head of information in regard to those subjects which I wished to investigate. I breakfast and dine with the inquisitor almost every day, and he generally passes his evenings in my apartments.

“Next day after my arrival I received an invitation to dine with the chief inquisitor. The second inquisitor accompanied me, and we found a respectable number of priests and a sumptuous entertainment. In the library of the chief inquisitor I saw a register containing the names of the present establishment of the inquisition at Goa, and the names of all the officers. On asking the chief inquisitor whether the establishment was as extensive as formerly, he said it was nearly the same. I had hitherto said little to any person concerning the inquisition, but I had indirectly gleaned much information concerning it, not only from the in-

quisitors themselves, but from certain priests whom I visited in their respective convents ; particularly from a father in the Franciscan convent, who had himself repeatedly witnessed an *auto da fè*.

“ On the second morning after my arrival, I was surprised by my host, the inquisitor, coming into my apartment clothed in *black robes* from head to foot, for the usual dress of his order is white. He said he was going to sit on the tribunal of the holy office. ‘ I presume, father, your august office does not occupy much of your time ? ’ — ‘ Yes,’ answered he, ‘ much. I sit on the tribunal three or four days every week.’

“ I had thought for some days of putting Dellon’s book in the inquisitor’s hand, for if I could get him to advert to the facts stated in that book, I should be able to learn, by comparison, the exact state of the inquisition at the present time. In the evening he came in, as usual, to pass an hour in my apartment. After some conversation, I took my pen in my hand to write a few notes in my journal, and, as if to amuse him while I was writing, I took up Dellon’s book, which was lying with some others on the table, and handing it across to him, asked him if he had ever seen it. It was in the French language, which he understood well. ‘ *Relation de l’Inquisition de Goa,*’ (the title of Dellon’s book,) pronounced he with a slow articulate voice. He had never seen it before, and began to read with eagerness. He had not proceeded far,

before he betrayed evident symptoms of uneasiness. He turned hastily to the middle of the book, and then to the end, and then ran over the table of contents at the beginning, as if to ascertain the full extent of the evil. He then composed himself to read, while I continued to write. He turned over the pages with rapidity; and when he came to a certain place, he exclaimed, 'mendacium, mendacium,' (which means falsehood, falsehood.) I requested he would mark those passages which were untrue, and we would discuss them afterwards, for that I had other books on the subject. 'Other books!' said he, and he looked with an inquiring eye on those on the table. He continued reading till it was time to retire to rest, and then begged to take the book with him.

"Next morning we resumed the subject of the inquisition. The inquisitor admitted that Dellon's descriptions of the dungeons, of the torture, of the mode of trial, and of the auto da fè were in general just; but he said the writer judged untruly of the motives of the inquisitors, and very uncharitably of the character of the holy church. He was now anxious to know to what extent Dellon's book had been circulated in Europe. I told him Picart had published to the world extracts from it in his celebrated work, entitled 'Religious Ceremonies,' together with plates of the system of torture, and burnings at the auto da fè. I added that it was now generally believed in Europe that these enor-

mities no longer existed, and that the inquisition itself had been totally suppressed ; but that I was concerned to find that it was not the case. He now began a grave narration to show that the inquisition had undergone a change in some respects, and that its terrors were mitigated.

“ I had already discovered, from written or printed documents, that the inquisition of Goa was suppressed by royal edict in 1775, and established again in 1779, subject to certain restrictions ; the chief of which are the following :—That a greater number of witnesses should be required to convict criminals than were before necessary, and that the auto da fè should not be held publicly as before, but that the sentences of the tribunal should be executed privately within the walls of the inquisition.

“ In this particular, the constitution of the new inquisition is more reprehensible than that of the old one. Formerly, the friends of those unfortunate persons who were thrown into its prison, had the melancholy satisfaction of seeing them once a year, walking in the procession of the auto da fè ; or, if they were condemned to die, they witnessed their death, and mourned for the dead. But now they have no means of learning for years whether they be dead or alive. The policy of this new mode of concealment appears to be this, to preserve the power of the inquisition, and, at the same time, to lessen the public odium of its proceed-

ings, in the presence of British dominion and civilization.

“I asked the father his opinion concerning the nature and frequency of the punishments within the walls. He said he possessed no certain means of giving a satisfactory answer; that every thing transacted there was declared to be ‘sacrum and secretum.’ But this he knew to be true, that there were constantly captives in the dungeons; that some of them are liberated after long confinement, but that they never speak afterwards of what passed within the place. He added, that of all the persons he had known who had been liberated, he never knew one who did not carry about with him, what might be called, ‘the mark of the inquisition;’ that is to say, who did not show, in the solemnity of his countenance, or in his peculiar demeanour, or his terror of the priests, that he had been in that dreadful place.”

The doctor listened very patiently to all the inquisitor had to say, and replied, that if he wished to satisfy his mind upon the subject, he must show him the inquisition. This was at first refused; but after some reasoning, the inquisitor at length consented, and they set off the following morning to visit the odious tribunal.

“He led me,” pursues the doctor, “first to the great hall of the inquisition. We were met at the door by a number of well-dressed persons, who, I afterwards understood, were the familiars and at-

tendants of the holy office. They bowed very low to the inquisitor, and looked with surprise at me. The great hall is the place in which the prisoners are marshalled for the procession of the *auto da fè*. At the procession described by Dellon, in which he himself walked barefoot, clothed with the painted garment, there were upwards of one hundred and fifty prisoners. I traversed this hall for some time with a slow step, reflecting on its former scenes, the inquisitor walking by my side in silence. I thought of the fate of the multitudes of my fellow-creatures who had passed through this place, condemned by a tribunal of their fellow-sinners, their bodies devoted to the flames, and their souls to perdition, and I could not help saying to him—‘Would not the holy church wish, in her mercy, to have those poor souls back again, that she might allow them a little farther probation?’ The inquisitor answered nothing, but beckoned me to go with him to a door at one end of the hall. By this door he conducted me to several small rooms, and thence to the spacious apartments of the chief inquisitor. Having surveyed these, he brought me back again to the great hall, and I thought he seemed now desirous that I should depart.

“‘Now, father,’ said I, ‘lead me to the dungeons below; I want to see the captives.’—‘No,’ said he, ‘that cannot be.’ I now began to suspect that it had been in the mind of the inquisitor from the

beginning to show me only a certain part of the inquisition, in the hope of satisfying inquiries in a general way. I urged him with earnestness, but he steadily resisted, and seemed to be offended, or rather agitated by my importunity. I intimated to him plainly, that the only way to do justice to his assertions and arguments regarding the present state of the inquisition, was to show me the prisons and the captives. I should then describe what I saw; but now the subject was left in awful obscurity. ‘Lead me down,’ said I, ‘to the inner building, and let me pass through the two hundred dungeons ten feet square, described by your former captives. Let me count the number of your present captives, and converse with them. I want to see if there be any subjects of the British government to whom we owe protection. I want to ask how long they have been here; how long it is since they beheld the light of the sun, and whether they ever expect to see it again.’ Show me the chamber of torture, and declare what modes of execution or of punishment are now practised within the walls of the inquisition in lieu of the public auto da fè. If, after all that has passed, father, you resist this reasonable request, I shall be justified in believing that you are afraid of exposing the real state of the inquisition in India.’ To these observations the inquisitor made no reply, but seemed impatient that I should withdraw. ‘My good father,’ said I, ‘I am about to

take my leave of you, and to thank you for your hospitable attentions; and I wish always to preserve on my mind a favourable sentiment of your kindness and candour. You cannot, you say, show me the captives and the dungeons; be pleased, then, merely to answer this question, for I shall believe your word—How many prisoners are there now below in the cells of the inquisition? The inquisitor replied, ‘That is a question which I cannot answer!’ On his pronouncing these words I retired hastily towards the door, and I wished him farewell.

“From the inquisition I went to the place of burning, on the river side, where the victims were brought to the stake at the *auto da fè*. It is close to the palace, that the viceroy and his court may witness the execution; for it has ever been the policy of the inquisition to make these spiritual executions appear to be the executions of the state. An old priest accompanied me, who pointed out the place and described the scene. As I passed over this melancholy plain, I thought on the difference between the pure and benign doctrine which was first preached to India in the apostolic age, and that bloody code which, after a long night of darkness, was announced to it under the same name! And I pondered on the mysterious dispensation which permitted the ministers of the inquisition, with their racks and flames, to visit these lands before the heralds of the gospel of peace.

But the most painful reflection was, that this tribunal should yet exist, unawed by the vicinity of British humanity and dominion. I was not satisfied with what I had seen and said at the inquisition, and I determined to go back again. The inquisitors were now sitting on the tribunal, and I had some excuse for returning, for I was to receive from the chief inquisitor a letter which he said he would give me before I left the place.

“ When I arrived at the inquisition, and had ascended the outer stairs, the door-keepers surveyed me doubtingly, but suffered me to pass, supposing that I had returned by permission and appointment of the inquisitor. I entered the great hall, and went up directly to the tribunal of the inquisition, described by Dellon, in which is the lofty crucifix. I sat down on a form, and wrote some notes, and then desired one of the attendants to carry in my name to the inquisitor. As I walked up the hall, I saw a poor woman sitting by herself on a bench by the wall, apparently in a disconsolate state of mind. She clasped her hands as I passed, and gave me a look expressive of her distress. This sight chilled my spirits. The familiars told me she was waiting there to be called up before the tribunal of the inquisition. While I was asking questions concerning her crime, the second inquisitor came out, in evident trepidation, and was about to complain of the intrusion, when I informed him I had come back for the letter

of the chief inquisitor. He said it should be sent after me to Goa, and he conducted me with a quick step towards the door. As we passed the poor woman I pointed to her, and said, with some emphasis, ‘Behold, father, another victim of the holy inquisition!’ He answered nothing. When we arrived at the head of the great stair he bowed, and I took my last leave of Joseph a Doloribus without uttering a word.”

The inquisition of Goa was abolished in the month of October in the year 1812.

CHAPTER IX.

Miscellaneous views of the inquisition—Its composition and proceedings—Anecdote of Father Ephraim—Officers of the inquisition—Their extraordinary power and privileges—Anecdote of consul Maynard—Council of the inquisition in Spain—The *Cruciata* and *Hermudad*—Prisons of the inquisition described—Their horrors—Anecdote—Flies—Anecdote of Gaspar Bennaviddius, a jail-keeper of the inquisition—His monstrous cruelty—Arts employed to make prisoners confess.

It is to be observed, that although minute shades of difference occur in the structure of the inquisitorial tribunals as they have existed in various countries, yet the form and manner of proceeding have ever been essentially the same: so that the miscellaneous descriptions which are now about to be laid before the reader, though they par-

ticularly belong to the holy offices in Spain and Portugal, nevertheless bear a full application in all important points to the holy office in every part of the globe.

The ministers or officers of the inquisition are numerous. The inquisitors, who are called apostolical, are judges delegated by the pope, who is the supreme judge of every thing touching the holy faith. The usual age at which one was capable of exercising this office was forty years; but by a papal decree, a person of thirty might become apostolic inquisitor in Spain and Portugal. They are wholly the creatures of the pope; so that, if an inquisitor should unjustly prosecute any one for heresy, there is no appeal or redress but from Rome, which is always difficult and often impossible. The most extravagant respect is shown to these officers, and even in cases where it has been found necessary to punish an inquisitor, they take care not to lessen men's opinion of the dignity and authority of the holy office by his condemnation.

For example, this tribunal often punished innocent persons, imprisoned and used them barbarously. Of this there is a memorable instance in father Ephraim, a Capuchin; whom, out of mere hatred and revenge, they seized by craft and subtlety, and carried off to the inquisitorial prison at Goa. Everybody wondered at hearing that father Ephraim, a man of such holiness and probity, should be suspected of heresy; and when the news

arrived in Europe, it created the liveliest emotions. His Portuguese majesty sent peremptory orders to the inquisitors to liberate him. The pope also sent letters to Goa, commanding him to be set free under penalty of excommunication. And the king of Golconda, who entertained the greatest esteem and affection for him, issued his directions for the city of St. Thomas to be besieged and burnt, and the inhabitants put to the sword, unless the venerable father was immediately restored to liberty. The inquisitors, from necessity, not from a sense of justice, sent word to father Ephraim that the prison gates were open, and he might depart when he pleased: but he positively refused to leave the jail, till he was brought out by a solemn procession of the ecclesiastics of Goa, which was accordingly done. Now, although this was so palpable a case of injustice and a wrong done to so eminent an individual, that even the king of Portugal and the pope himself interfered; yet the thought of punishing the malignity of the inquisitors was never for a moment contemplated.

To enter into a minute account of all the subordinate officers and assistants belonging to the extensive and complicated institution, would prove a labour as insipid to the reader as it would be incompatible with the limits of this work. A description, therefore, will be omitted of the vicars, the assessors and counsellors, the promoters fiscal, the notaries, the judges, and receivers of confiscated

goods, the executors, the officials, the familiars, the cross-bearers, the visiters, and various others who are necessary to carry on the immense operations of this gigantic system of ecclesiastical tyranny ; but it will be proper to dwell for a few moments on the inquisitors themselves, the chief of all, and who are, generally, like Milton's Satan, "by merit raised to that bad eminence."

The power of the inquisitors has always been fearfully great, it having ever been the interest of the popes to shower privileges upon them with a munificent hand, and to these immense "wages of sin" is to be attributed their cheerful and unwearied zeal in the persecution of heretics. Thus, by a bull it is decreed, that no inquisitor shall be liable to the penalty of excommunication, except by the special command of the apostolic see, to which tribunal alone they were amenable. The consequence of this immunity from restraint was, that the inquisitors seldom or never were punished ; for if they only had ingenuity enough to avoid infringing the temporal power of the popes, their crimes, however flagitious, were regarded with an indulgent eye by the pontiff.

Again, when inquisitors wish to inflict punishment, and are apprehensive that too much delay will be occasioned by sending to the inquisitorial court, which has the proper authority, they are permitted to have recourse to temporal courts of justice, and to require temporal lords to assist

them, even though such lords may be under sentence of excommunication at the time. No matter how wicked and unjust such lord may be,—no matter how incompetent he may have been pronounced to perform any other duty of life,—still, if by command of an inquisitor, he did any thing against heretics, the act immediately became valid. These, and a thousand other privileges and exemptions attached to inquisitors, of a nature at once iniquitous and tyrannical, not to say unchristian, are usually said to be bestowed and allowed “in favour of the faith,” as if Christianity stood in need of such nefarious measures for its support ; measures which of themselves are an ample demonstration of the ungodly character of the cause.

But the inquisitors claimed and extended their power not only over their own fellow-subjects, but also over those of foreign states residing within their dominions. It was of little consequence to the holy office what treaties existed on the subject, expressly exempting foreigners from liability to the inquisition for matters of faith ; they always managed to evade such provisions, so that strangers were always at their mercy : nor could any safety be procured, except from the immediate frown of the government whose subject was so outraged, and that government backed too by sufficient power to make its interference respected. Of this there was a remarkable case in the time of Oliver Cromwell.

Thomas Maynard, who was the English consul at Lisbon, had been thrown into the prison of the inquisition, under pretence of having said or done something against the Romish faith. Cromwell was at once advised of it, and immediately sent an express to the English chargé d'affaires, who, upon receiving it, went forthwith to the king of Portugal, and in the name of Cromwell demanded the liberty of consul Maynard. The king replied that it was not in his power; that the consul was in the hands of the inquisition, over which he had no sort of authority. As soon as Cromwell received this answer, he sent new instructions to his minister, who demanded another audience, in which he told the king, that since his majesty had no power over the inquisition, he was commanded by Cromwell to declare war against the inquisition. The monarch, as well as the inquisitors, were greatly terrified at this unexpected energy, and immediately opened the gates of the prison; but the consul, like father Ephraim, refused to accept a private dismissal, and in order to repair the sullied honour of himself and the English people whom he represented, demanded to be brought forth publicly by the inquisition. Such instances, however, were exceedingly rare, and form a striking contrast with the general history and irresistible power of this institution, before which the greatest monarchs were made to bow with submission.

In Spain and Portugal the supreme council of the inquisition possessed a more tyrannic sway over the inferior tribunals of those countries than the pope, who was at the head of the holy office in Italy, did over those of that country. The supreme council consisted of a grand inquisitor (who was appointed by the king, although it is said the pope had the power of a veto upon the appointment) and five members. The inferior inquisitions, subordinate and dependent on the supreme court, were established at Grenada, Seville, Cordova, Toledo, Cuenza, Valladolid, Murcia, Llerena, San Jago, Logrogno, Saragossa, Valencia, Barcelona, Majorca, Sardinia, Palermo, Mexico, Carthagen, and Lima. Each of these had three inquisitorial judges.

Besides the multitude of inferior officers, there were two classes of individuals in Spain, who were devoted to the service of the holy office, by which they were employed, like two powerful arms, to seize their victims everywhere. From their clutches it was next to impossible for any one to escape. These were the *Hermidad* and the *Cruciata*. The *Hermidad* was an immense body of constables or spies, who were spread, not only through the cities, but even through the towns and villages. The smallest hamlet teemed with these vermin, creatures generated by want and idleness. They carried their art to perfection. When once their eyes were fixed upon a victim, his doom was sealed. If they could not use force, they resorted

to stratagem. They assumed all characters. They continued their arts for months, nay years, with untiring perseverance, till at length they drew the devoted person into some imprudent step, and then they pounced upon him and delivered him to the inquisition, where he was lost for ever. No wonder the Spanish nation was changed in character ! The *Crusiata* consisted of different materials, though equally infamous : their influence was brought to bear more particularly upon the higher ranks of society. The *Cruciata* consisted of the noble and the rich, the *grandees* and the bishops, and they were united for the purpose of watching over the manners of Catholics, and reporting to the inquisition the least failure in the discharge of duty or profession. Nothing could be better calculated to promote national hypocrisy than such an establishment, since the perpetual fear of these informers would necessarily become a stronger motive to incite them to religious observances, than the fear of God.

As soon as the poor victim was seized and carried before the inquisition, the next step was to cast him into prison. Who has not heard of the dungeons of the inquisition ? The use of jails, it has always been understood, was to keep suspected or criminal persons in custody ; but the inquisition, refining upon and perverting every institution, converted them into abodes of punishment, in which, to use the words of Simancas, an inquisito-

rial author, "they may inflict the penalty of perpetual imprisonment for more heinous offences, which is indeed very grievous, and equal to death:" an honest confession! for who can think without horror of such a punishment, inflicted sometimes on those who merely believed in the doctrines or opinions of heretics: human beings perpetually imprisoned for freedom of thought, in dreadful receptacles; there to do what the inquisition called "wholesome penance, with the bread of grief and the water of affliction."

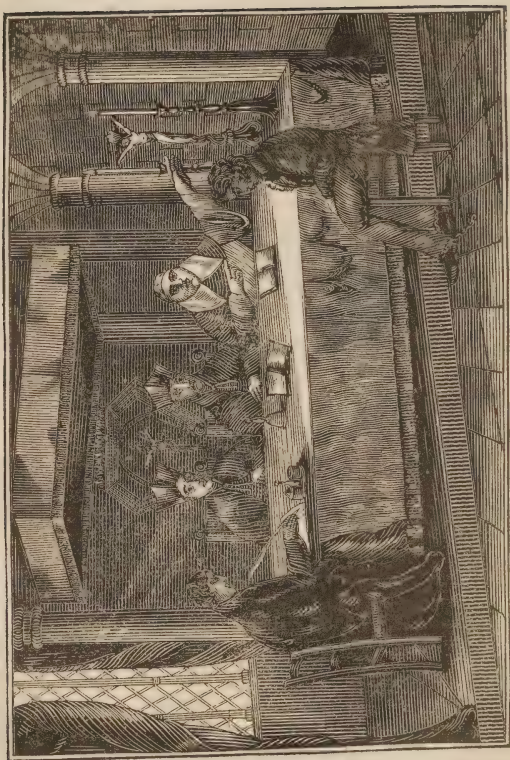
The inquisitorial prisons are generally noisome and pestilent dungeons, and every way worthy of the establishment of which they form a portion. To add mockery to cruelty, they are called, in Spain and Portugal, as was before remarked, *santas casas*, or holy houses; and really one might almost be tempted to suppose that these names, as well as that of holy office belonging to the inquisition itself, had been imposed, not seriously, but by way of irony and derision. Though these mansions and cells of wretchedness are very much alike in all countries where the tribunal of the inquisition has gained a footing, yet in Spain and Portugal they seemed to wear a blacker gloom; so that Constantino Ponce, who was called "the great philosopher, the profound theologian, and the most eloquent and celebrated preacher" of the time of Charles V., ere yet he had been made to taste of actual tortures, in speaking of the barbarity of his confine-

ment, exclaimed, "Oh, my God ! were there no Scythians in the world, no cannibals more fierce and cruel than Scythians, into whose hands thou couldst carry me, so that I might but escape the hands of these monsters?"

Of the miseries of the Portuguese prisons, an illustration is given by an author whose name is Reginald Gonsalvius. An English ship had put in at the port of Cadiz, and the familiars of the inquisition of that place immediately searched her, as was their custom, to see what there was on board to affect religion, as they pretended, before they could suffer a soul to go on shore. They seized several English persons in whom they discovered symptoms of true evangelical piety, and clapped them in jail. In the ship there was a child ten or twelve years of age, the son of a very rich English merchant, to whom the ship belonged. This child was seized also, under pretence that a copy of David's Psalms in English, was found in his hands ; but the true reason was, their avarice and cursed arts, by which they hoped to extort money from the wealthy parent. The ship was confiscated, and the child was carried, with the rest of the company, to the prison of the inquisition, at Seville, where he lay about eight months. In consequence of the strict confinement, dampness of the place, and badness of the food allowed, the child fell very ill, for he had been brought up delicately and tenderly at home. When the in-

quisitors heard this, they had the boy removed, for recovery of his health, to the hospital of the inquisition, which is almost as bad a place as the prison itself. In this place the unhappy boy, from barbarous treatment, lost the use of both his legs, nor was it ever known what became of him afterwards, though it is probable he died of the ill usage of these monsters. During his confinement the poor boy had given striking proofs how firmly the pious instructions he had received at home were fixed in his mind. Morning and evening he was seen on his knees at prayer to that God who, his parents had taught him, was to be looked up to in the hour of trouble ; and his inhuman keepers always taunted him on these occasions by calling him their "little heretic."

The first thing a prisoner of the inquisition is compelled to do when thrown into jail, is to give an exact account of all his wealth and possessions. The inquisitors pretend always that they do this with a view to keep faithfully their property, that it may be safely restored, if they should be found innocent ; and such confidence had the deluded people in the sanctity and sincerity of the tribunal, that they always most willingly discovered the most concealed things they had. But these people were deluded ; for when a person fell into the hands of the inquisition, he was stripped and despoiled of all. If the prisoner denied his crime, and was convicted by false witnesses employed for



the purpose, all his goods were confiscated. If, to escape the horrors of imprisonment, he confessed the crime, he became guilty by his own acknowledgment, and as a matter of course was robbed of every thing. Even when the prisoner was dismissed as a convert and penitent, he did not dare to defend himself, under a terror of being re-imprisoned for life or burnt to death.

When summoned before his judges, the prisoner appears, conducted by his keeper, with his head, arms, and feet naked. At one end of the audience room is a large crucifix, and in the middle is placed a table with seats around it. At the table are seated the notary of the inquisition and the judges, and at one end the wretched prisoner himself upon a bench. On the table is the missal or mass-book, on which the prisoner lays his hand when he takes the oath to tell the whole truth, and to keep every thing a profound secret. When the audience is over, and the interrogatories done, the inquisitors ring a bell, and the keeper re-conducts the prisoner to his cell.

In these jails the most profound silence is kept. None dare mutter a word or make the least noise. If an individual in his agony bewails his fate, or even if he prays to God aloud, or sings a psalm, the keeper immediately enters and admonishes him to be silent. If he does not obey he is again admonished, and if it is done a third time the keeper beats the prisoner severely. This is done

not only to punish the offender, but to intimidate the other prisoners; who, from the nearness of their cells and the tomb-like stillness of the place, can easily hear the sound of the blows and the cries of the sufferers. It is related, that on one occasion when a prisoner coughed, the jailers came to him and admonished him to forbear. He answered, it was not in his power. They admonished him a second time, and because he did not cease, they stripped him naked and cruelly beat him. This made his cough worse, and instead of being softened, they continued beating him till the poor wretch expired.

One reason why they insist so severely upon profound silence, is to prevent the prisoners from recognizing each other by whistling, singing, or other signals. So that it often happens friends, even parents and children, are not aware that they have been pining in the same jail, and perhaps in adjoining cells, until they meet at the awful ceremony of an *auto da fè*. The great aim of this solitary confinement is, that its extreme irksomeness may force the victims to make any confessions which may best suit the wicked purposes and wishes of the inquisitors. The arts of the inquisitors to draw confessions are detailed by numerous writers. They even procure persons, who are chosen for their being agreeable to the prisoners, and having influence, to go and converse with them, and even to feign to belong to their sect,

and only to have abjured through fear. They will thus insidiously persecute the prisoner by every hypocritical wile, till at last, after a lapse of days, weeks, or even months, they succeed in drawing out some confession. It may well excite wonder how men can be of such a devilish temper as voluntarily to hire themselves for such offices,—men who consent to be shut up in dungeons with the prisoners for whole months, pretending sometimes to be friends, sometimes fellow-prisoners, in order to force out something by which to condemn the prisoner,—who put up with every thing, stench, hunger, thirst, and what is still more strange, will go in this way from one cell to another, and pass all their time in an occupation which has no parallel in history,—a business foul, and nefarious, and diabolical! These creatures are called *flies* by the inquisition.

But the prisoners are exposed to cruelties from a thousand other sources. Reginald Gonsalvius, before quoted, relates of one Gaspar Bennavidius, who was a keeper of a jail, and whom he describes as “a man of monstrous covetousness and cruelty,” that he used actually to defraud the poor languishing prisoners of the scanty allowances made by the inquisitors; and that if any of them murmured, he was accustomed to punish them by forcing them into a vile place called Mazmorra, a deep cistern without water in it, though so damp that the very provisions became rotten in it, and fitter to

destroy than to support life. This man, it is true, was punished as soon as his conduct became known to the inquisitors, but not so much on account of his barbarity as for violating the regulations of the establishment. To prove that no merciful motives had any share in his punishment, this very man had, at the time, a servant maid, who, witnessing the intolerable sufferings of her master's victims, through pity used to succour and relieve them, and also to take from the wicked thief, her master, the very provisions he stole from them, to give them back to the prisoners by stealth. "And," says the author, "that we may the more wonder at the providence of God, who so orders it that the worst parents shall not always have bad children, a little daughter of the keeper himself used to assist the maid in these pious thefts." At length the matter was discovered, and the humanity of this good woman was visited by the Lord's inquisitors with rigorous punishment.

In short, the ingenuity of cruelty employed to work upon the prisoners' minds, and extort confession, is almost beyond belief; and, at last, if the accused did not confess his guilt, they had recourse to a final experiment which proved a fatal snare to many. They delivered to the prisoner an accusation in writing, and in this pretended accusation they blended several crimes perfectly false, and of an enormous nature, with the charges they wanted to get at. By this trap they succeeded: the pri-

soner did not fail to cry out against the horrible imputations; and thereupon the inquisitors condemned them as guilty of those other allegations against which they remonstrated with least violence.

CHAPTER X.

Extravagance and absurdities of certain inquisitorial writers—Heresy, its meaning—Abuse and perversion of the term by the inquisition—Excommunication—Punishments of heresy and heretics—Death by fire—Unlimited power of this tribunal—Forms of process—Proofs—Arts used by inquisitors—Honest and frank confession of an inquisitor general.

INQUISITORIAL writers have displayed prodigious extravagance, as well as ingenuity, in distorting passages of Scripture, and discovering types in the Old and New Testament to illustrate and sustain the divine original of the inquisition before a deluded and ignorant people. Of this, the most impious and unblushing proofs are given by Louis de Paramo, an inquisitor, in his celebrated Latin work on the "Origin and Progress of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, and of Its Dignity and Utility."—God himself, according to this writer, was the first inquisitor, and the first auto da fè was held in the garden of Eden. God cited Adam, because the process would otherwise

have been null ; and upon the culprit's appearance, he *inquired*, that is, made *inquisition*, into Adam's crime. The man accused his wife, after which the Judge questioned her also. The serpent he did not examine, because of his obstinacy. Both parties were separately examined, and in secret, to prevent collusion ; and no witnesses were called, because confession and conscience are as good as a thousand witnesses ; and then the judge had nothing to do but to pronounce sentence. Paramo does not think it worth while, however, to mention another, and a more serious, reason for not calling witnesses ; which is, that there were no witnesses to call.

Abraham also was an inquisitor, and so was Sarah, which the author thus proves. She turned Ishmael out of doors for idolatry. She saw him *playing* with Isaac. Now what is meant by this word *playing* ? In Exodus it is written, the people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play ; that is, says St. Jerome, to commit idolatry ; and therefore it is plain that Ishmael was turned out for idolatry. In this crazy manner Paramo goes through the Pentateuch, and the books of Joshua and Judges. David, he tells us, was a bitter inquisitor. Solomon also, though the wisest of men, was the most severe upon idolaters and heretics. Zimri, who slew his master, was of the holy office. So was Elijah ; so was Elisha ; so was Jehu ; and, (which caps the climax of absurdity,)

so was Nebuchadnezzar! Under the gospel dispensation Christ is represented as the first inquisitor, and the very form of punishment in use by the holy office, it is affirmed, is directed by the gospel!—But the reader turns with indignation and contempt from so much levity and so much folly.

Heresy now claims attention: heresy! a fatal word—a word which has deluged the world with blood, and caused infinite sorrows among the sons of men! “This word,” says Dr. Buck, “signifies sect, or choice. It was not, in its earliest acceptance, conceived to convey any reproach, since it was indifferently used either of a party approved or of one disapproved by the writer. Afterwards it was generally used to signify some fundamental error adhered to with obstinacy.”—The practice of the early Christians on this subject was shown in the beginning of this work. The shocking perversion of the term by the Catholic inquisition will now be placed in contrast.

It is the observation of Llorente, that if the primitive system of the church towards heretics had been pursued faithfully, as it ought to have been after the peace of Constantine, the tribunal of the inquisition would never have existed, and perhaps the number and duration of heresies would have been less. However this may be, one thing is plain, that heresies multiplied with a rapidity exactly proportioned to the violent attempts made

by the civil and ecclesiastical powers to extirpate them, until they at length formed the grand employment of the church of Rome. Heresy, or heretical pravity, (that is, wickedness,) was the grand crime cognizable by the inquisition, whose office legitimately consisted in its extirpation. But heresy assumed a thousand shapes, and was hunted down by as many different statutes of the Romish church. Some were manifest heretics, others concealed ; some affirmative, others negative ; some impenitent, others penitent ; some arch-heretics, others believers of heretics ; some receivers, others defenders, and others favourers of heretics ; some are hinderers of the office of the inquisition, others suspected of heresy, others defamed as heretics, and others relapsed. Again, there were some who, by committing certain other crimes, incur the suspicion of heresy ; or who, committing other crimes, are yet answerable to the tribunal of the inquisition, because of some heretical word or action mixed up with those crimes. Finally, Jews, and backsliders to Judaism, New Christians, Moors, witches and sorcerers, and, in more modern times, free-masons and political heretics, complete the melancholy catalogue of human beings who were rendered answerable to the inquisition. From this enumeration alone, it must appear to all that heresy was thus converted into a net of infinite meshes, from which few or none could escape, who were the natural game or prey of this horrid institution

To make a regular heretic, three things were necessary. First, that the individual should have professed the Catholic faith. Secondly, that he should err in his understanding in matters relating to the faith. Matters of faith being all points determined by a general council or by the pope, as necessary to be believed, and such as are enjoined by an apostolic tradition. Thirdly, obstinacy of will, which was tested in two ways; when one was called before a judge of the faith, and informed that any opinion he happened to hold was contrary to the faith, and yet persisted in the error; and again, when, after the discovery of his error, he will not abjure it, and give any satisfaction the church demanded. So far was this carried, that every thing was defined to be heresy that was contrary to the slightest and most trifling received opinion of the church, even on a subject merely philosophical, and having no foundation in the scriptures.

Heresy being regarded by the Catholic church as the most heinous of all crimes, the punishments inflicted upon heretics were the most grievous; and they were of two kinds, civil and ecclesiastical. The ecclesiastical were, excommunication, deprivation of church burial, of dignities, benefices, and all ecclesiastical offices. The civil were, depriving men of the privileges and benefits of law, pecuniary mulcts and fines, banishment, death, and the bann.

By excommunication, heretics were driven from

the sacraments, deprived of the common suffrages of the church, and expelled the company of the pious and faithful. One of the synods of the Catholic church declared, in the following words, "that ye may understand the nature of this excommunication, he (the heretic) must not enter into the church, nor eat and drink with any christians. Let none receive his gifts, nor offer him a kiss, nor join with him in prayer, nor salute him." The ceremony of excommunicating a heretic is thus performed. When the bishop pronounces the curse, twelve priests must stand around him holding lighted candles, which they throw down on the ground and tread under their feet at the conclusion of the excommunicating anathema. These interdicts are very numerous in the Catholic church, and are couched in a great variety of terms.

Of the civil punishment of heresy, confiscation is the chief, and one of the Catholic writers deduces it impiously from the example of God himself, "who," as another author says, "not contented with the sentence of death pronounced against our first parents, drove man from the place of his delights, stripped him of all his goods, and adjudged him to hard and continual labours; and commanded, for his wickedness, the very earth to bring forth briers and thorns."

To pass over the many other punishments of heretics, death was one of the last; and death too, of the most terrible kind; which is, to be burnt

alive ! This mode of punishment, in the usual impious manner, is inferred from 2 Kings xxiii. where Ozias commanded the bones of the heretical priests to be burnt; and also from the words of our Lord in John xv. 6. "If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered, and men gather them and cast them into a fire, and they are burned." Paramo, the Catholic author already quoted, also discovers this punishment to be justified by the New Testament, as was before asserted. "James and John," says he, "thought that the Samaritans who would not receive our Lord, should be destroyed by fire from heaven, according to St. Luke, chap. ix. See here now the punishment of heretics, viz. fire. For the Samaritans were the heretics of those times. Matt. xxi. and xxii. Mark xii. and Luke xx." Such language is not extraordinary in a man who finds, even in paradise, an inquisition; and who endeavours, by numerous arguments, to make God himself an inquisitor ! But Catholic writers have gone still further in their malignity against the human race, and have declared, that the burning of heretics by fire was not only reasonable, but that if any worse and more terrible mode could be discovered, it ought to be and would be made use of—a sentiment so shocking, that even a Catholic might have shuddered at it—to which there is nothing on record to compare it, unless it be the excuse of the bloody tyrant Draco, who punished all crimes, both great

and small, with death ; declaring, at the same time, that the least crime deserved death, and he did not know of any worse punishment for the greatest.

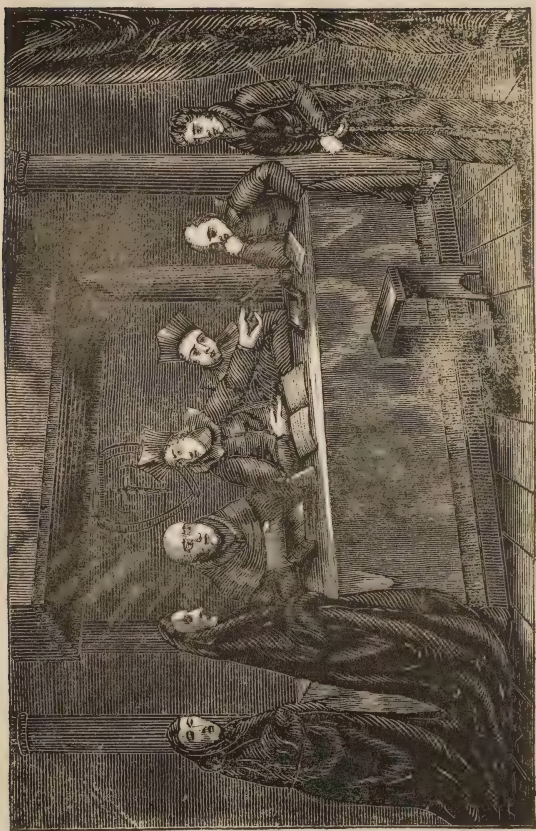
Those persons who praised other modes of worship were heretics ; also those who said men might be saved in all religions—those who dared to find fault with, or to criticise, in any way, a decision of the pope. If any one showed disrespect to an image, or read, kept in his house, or lent any book forbidden by the inquisition, or ate meat upon days of abstinence, or had a heretic for a friend, or wrote to console a prisoner in the inquisition, or tried to procure evidence to acquit him. “At one period,” says a writer, “the sale of Spanish horses to the French was considered as heresy, because the French were Huguenots, and would probably use the horses against the interests of the Romish church.” These are but a few of the items, from the least of which justification, unless it was the pleasure of the inquisition, was impossible. Difficult as it was to escape their fangs, it was infinitely more difficult to get out of them when seized. If the inquisition wanted to arrest a person, he was seized without warning ; nothing could protect him, for no asylum was sacred. None dared to interfere—to utter a syllable in defence ; and when a person once stepped over the threshold of the inquisition, he was dead to the world. The number of beings who put an end to themselves by suicide, in their despair, is beyond all calculation !

The two principal hinges upon which, in criminal cases, the judicial examination of the prisoners before this tribunal turns, are—First, an impossibility, almost absolute, on the part of the culprits to substantiate the justice of their cause; and a facility almost boundless, on the part of the inquisition, to aggrieve them. With a code in which illegality is reduced to a system, and a tribunal that contemns all man holds sacred, a tribunal that rests the issue of its important affairs on the impenetrable secrecy of its proceedings; that fears no one on earth, for to no one is it responsible, not even to public opinion, it cannot be a matter of surprise that such a multitude of enormous crimes should have rendered it so odious; crimes the more revolting, because perpetrated under the mask of the gospel.

The judges presiding over a tribunal wielding such power, should at least have been well instructed in the principles of justice and equity; and yet it is a fact, that the dulness and ignorance of inquisitors has passed into a proverb. Hence, “the Portuguese noblemen,” says Puigblanch, “when they wish to joke about the backwardness of their children at college, threaten to make inquisitors of them.” Of late, the following saying was to be met, says the same author, in the mouths of all—*“Question: What constitutes an inquisition?—Answer: Why, one crucifix, two candles, and three blockheads.”*

The two forms of process were, by inquisition and denunciation : the latter, however, finally superseded the other, as by several edicts a general injunction was laid on all to denounce, within six days, any one who had sinned in any way. These edicts rendered society a horde of panic-struck and abject wretches, where the mutual hatred, and the mutual prejudices of citizens became the common property of this tribunal, and where the foulest passions of our fallen nature were quickened into the worst activity. Indeed, denunciation and secret impeachment were found to answer the purpose much more effectually ; and what was the result ? “ Taking from the simple denunciation,” says Puigblanch, “ whatever is favourable to the informer, and from the rigorous accusation what is contrary to the culprit, the inquisition has created a new judicial process which it is impossible to class or define. In it, the rancour and vengeance of those who traced it seem emulously to shine, and it is difficult to discern whether the blows are most levelled against the rights of justice or of humanity ; for who can defend himself against calumny when stimulated by the law, and accompanied by almost a certain hope of impunity ? This bane of society, by means of secrecy, is converted into an arm that wounds at an immense distance.”

Proofs were of three kinds :—First, by instruments or writings.—Second, by witnesses, two



of which, in addition to the denunciator, are, in theory, requisite. The prisoner, however, as has been said, never knows who is his accuser nor the witnesses, as infinite pains are taken to keep him in the dark. It is only when any doubt has arisen respecting the identity of his person, that the witnesses view him from a secret place where they cannot be seen, or else are brought before him with masks on their faces, and covered with cloaks from head to foot.—And, third, by voluntary confession, which, though called spontaneous, always partook of coercion.

The fact, which daily occurred, that the innocent were murdered with the guilty, was regarded with great indifference; for it was a cherished maxim, “that it is better one hundred pious Catholics should perish, than one heretic escape:” for, said they, by putting to death an innocent person, we hasten and secure his entrance into paradise; while a liberated heretic may infect a multitude. “Let no person complain,” says Nicholas Eymeric, in his celebrated book, the ‘Directory of the Inquisitors,’ “if he be unjustly condemned; let him console himself with the reflection that he has suffered for righteousness’ sake.”

This famous book of Eymeric was written about the middle of the fourteenth century. The author was a Dominican, and chief inquisitor to the crown of Arragon, and his work has served as a

model for all the regulations which have been in force in Spain, Italy, and Portugal, and as authority for all who have written on the subject. From this work a single passage, being a stratagem or precaution which he recommends to inquisitors when sitting in judgment, will be amply sufficient.—“When the prisoner has been impeached of the crime of heresy, but not convicted, and he obstinately persists in his denial, let the inquisitor take the proceedings into his hands, or *any other file of papers*, and looking them over in his presence, *let him feign to have discovered the offence* fully established therein, and that he is desirous he should at once make his confession. The inquisitor shall then say to the prisoner, as if in astonishment, ‘And is it possible you should still deny what I have here before my own eyes?’ *He shall then seem as if he read*, and to the end that the prisoner may know no better, he shall fold down the leaf, and after reading some moments longer, he shall say to him, ‘It is just as I have said : why therefore do you deny it, when you see I know the whole matter?’ ”—In all this the author directs the judge not to enter too minutely into the particulars of the fact, for fear of his erring in any of the circumstances, and lest the prisoner should discover the falsehood.

This chapter will now close with a confession from an eminent inquisitor, at which one’s blood runs cold. Don Manuel Abad y Lasierra, one

of the latest inquisitors general, a person by no means prejudiced, and for that reason not liked by any of his cloth, speaking of the ease with which an innocent person may be entrapped in the snares of this tribunal, used to say, "*that he had never feared the inquisition till he had been made inquisitor general.*" With such a confession from such an individual, and at so recent a period, the reflection naturally arises, What must this tribunal have been in the high and palmy period of its greatest power?

CHAPTER XI.

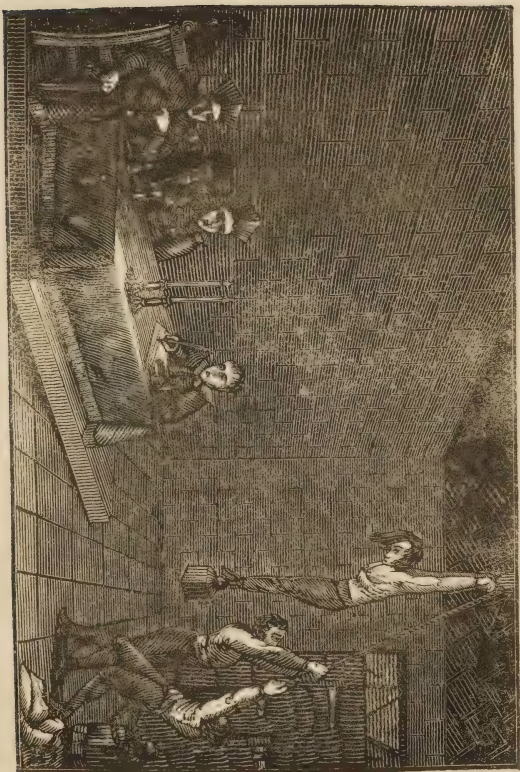
The torture—Its different kinds—The auto da fè—Its different kinds—Description of the dresses of those who walk in these dreadful processions—Description of an auto celebrated at Madrid in 1680.

THE inquisition has uniformly adopted the vices of all other tribunals, and even added to them; but in "the torture" it astonishingly surpassed them. In the first place, it originally invented a multitude of new methods of infliction; and in the second, not content to force the culprit to confess his crime and reveal his accomplices, it also obliged him to confess his very intention: so that, after admitting all that any other court could wish to know, he was again subjected to the pangs of tor-

ture, and compelled to declare himself to be as criminal before men, as his judges supposed he was before God. There was another practice still more inhuman. When the culprit, from repentance, at once confessed his *intention* and revealed his accomplices, the torture was again inflicted if any of the accomplices denied being such, for the purpose of seeing if he persisted in the declaration. Sentence of torture always began by invoking the name of Christ !

Three kinds of torture, says Puigblanch, who will be followed in this part of the subject, have been generally used by the inquisition, namely, the pulley, the rack, and fire. As sad and loud lamentations accompanied the sharpness of pain, the victim was conducted to a retired apartment, called the "Hall of Torture," and usually situated under ground, in order that his cries might not interrupt the silence which reigned throughout the other parts of the building. Here the court assembled, and the judges being seated, together with their secretary, again questioned the prisoner ; and if he still persisted, they proceeded to the execution of the sentence.

The first torture, which was alluded to in the account given in a former chapter of Bower's adventures, was performed by fixing a pulley to the roof of the hall, with a strong hempen or grass rope passed through it. The executioners then seized the culprit, and leaving him naked to his





drawers, put shackles on his feet, and suspended weights of one hundred pounds to his ancles. His hands were then bound behind his back, and the rope from the pully strongly fastened to his wrists. In this situation he was raised about the height of a man from the ground, and, in the meantime, the judges coldly admonished him to reveal the truth. In this position twelve stripes were sometimes inflicted on him. He was then suffered to fall suddenly, but in such a manner that neither his feet nor the weights reached the ground, in order to render the shock of the body greater.

The torture of the rack, also called that of water and ropes, and the one most commonly used, was inflicted by stretching the victim on his back along a wooden horse, or hollow bench, with sticks across like a ladder, and prepared for the purpose. To this his feet, hands, and head were strongly bound, in such manner as to leave no room to move. In this attitude he experienced eight strong contortions in his limbs, namely, two on the fleshy parts of the arms above the elbows, and two below; one on each thigh, and also on the legs. He was, besides, obliged to swallow seven pints of water, slowly dropped into his mouth on a piece of silk or ribbon, which, by the pressure of the water, glided down his throat, so as to produce all the horrid sensations of drowning. At other times his face was covered with a thin piece of linen,

through which the water ran into his mouth and nostrils, and prevented him from breathing.

In the torture by fire, the prisoner was placed upon his legs, naked, in the stocks ; the soles of his feet were then well greased with lard, and a blazing chafing-dish applied to them, by the heat of which they became perfectly fried. When his complaints of the pain were loudest, a board was placed between his feet and the fire, and he was again commanded to confess ; but it was taken away if he was obstinate. This species of torture was deemed the most cruel of all ; but this, as well as the others, were, without distinction, applied to persons of both sexes, at the will of the judges, according to the circumstances of the crime and the strength of the delinquent.

Lesser tortures were used with persons unable to withstand those already described. Such were, that of the dice, of the canes, and of the rods. For the first, the prisoner was extended on the ground, and two pieces of iron, shaped like a die, but concave on one side, were placed on the heel of his right foot, then bound fast on with a rope which was pulled tight with a screw. That of the canes was performed by a hard piece being put between each finger, bound, and then screwed as above. That of the rods was inflicted on boys under nine years of age, by binding them to a post and then flogging them with rods.



The time allowed for torture, by a bull of Paul III., could not exceed an hour ; but in Spain, where the race of cruelty was always won, it was extended to an hour and a quarter, and an hour and a half. The sufferer often became senseless, in which case a physician was ever in attendance, to inform the court whether the paroxysm was real or feigned, and to declare how much human nature could endure. When the victim remained firm, or refused to ratify a confession within twenty-four hours afterwards, he has been forced to undergo as far as three tortures, with only one day's interval between each. Thus, while his imagination was still filled with the dreadful idea of his past sufferings, his limbs stiff and sore, and his strength debilitated, he was called upon to give fresh proofs of his constancy, and again endure the horrid spectacle and the excruciating pangs, tending to rend his whole frame to pieces.

The persons charged to inflict these cruel operations were generally the servants of the jailer : as the institution, however, was formerly under the charge of the Dominicans, and of late years also in Italy, it is probable that the lay brethren were selected to inflict the torture ; particularly as the inquisition was usually contiguous to their convents, with which they communicated by a secret door and passage ; and by these services, the brethren, far from being dishonoured, considered they were doing acts acceptable to God.

When neither persuasions, threats, nor artifices forced the culprit truly or falsely to confess, the inquisitors then recurred to the torture, mixing even this deception with severity ; for besides threatening the prisoner to make his pangs last for an indefinite period of time, they made him believe, after he had borne them for the stated time, that they only suspended their continuation because it was late, or for some other similar reason ; they protesting, at the same time, that he was not sufficiently tortured. By this protest they avoided giving a second sentence when they returned to inflict the torture afresh, considering it as a continuation of the preceding one ; by which means they were able to torment the victim as often as they thought proper, without formally coming to the second torture.

Whilst the unfortunate victim, melted in tears at the sight of the horrors by which he is surrounded, bewails his miserable fate, or, frenzied with the force of fury, in vain calls all nature to his aid, and invokes the name of God ; whilst his passions are alternately irritated and then depressed into a desponding calm, at one time protesting his innocence, and next calling down curses on his tormentors' heads ; in short, whilst his body is shaken by the most violent convulsions, and his soul racked, his inexorable judges, unmoved by such a scene, with the coldest cruelty mix their orders with his cries and lamentations ; at one time

addressing themselves to him to exhort him to reveal, and next to their officers to remind them of their duty. In the mean time, with the same serenity, the secretary pens down every sigh, groan, and execration which the force of the torment obliges the wretched and frantic victim to utter.

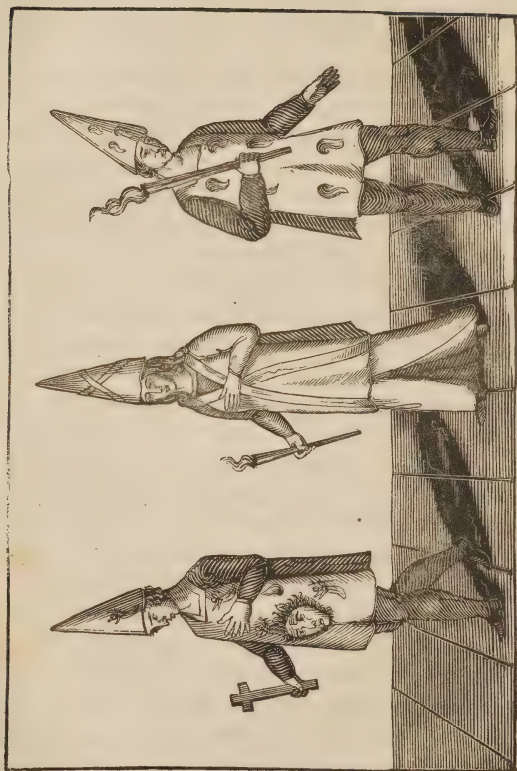
The legislators who originally authorized this mode of trial, at least had the equity to pronounce all inferences of guilt as thereby wiped away, and dismissed the sufferer who persevered in his denial; but the inquisition condemned him to perpetual imprisonment, or sent him to the galleys. Consequently, the unfortunate culprit, perhaps wholly innocent, often entirely disabled by the writhings of his muscles and the dislocation of his bones, caused by the shocks of the pulley, crippled by the compression of the rack, or maimed by the contraction of his nerves through the operation of fire, was, after all this, obliged to endure the infamy of being mixed and confounded with the vilest wretches.

But the last and most appalling scene, which closes the awful drama of the inquisition, was the *auto da fè*, to which allusion has often been made in the course of this little volume, and of which a very brief and imperfect description is all which can now be promised to the reader. The *auto da fè* was a spectacle as august and splendid as it was cruel and terrible, uniting in its sublime conception, as it is affirmed, two of the grandest ideas

that the human mind can entertain, namely, a Roman triumph, and the day of judgment.

There were two kinds of autos da fè, the particular and the general. The former were called *autillos*, or little autos, and were celebrated in some small church or hall with closed doors, and before only select persons. The general autos were solemnized in the principal square of the city, or some spacious church. In the first, the culprits were few, in the second, numerous. In the grander exhibition great care is taken to include persons who have committed different crimes, so as to give an imposing variety to the spectacle; and, at the same time, some *relapsed* persons, whom even repentance cannot save from the flames; for if all could be pardoned by abjuring their errors, the exhibition might be spoiled at the last moment!

The victims who walk in the procession, wear certain insignia; these are, the *san benito*, the *coroza*, the rope round the neck, and the yellow wax candle. The *san benito* is a penitential garment or tunic of yellow cloth reaching down to the knees, and on it is painted the picture of the person who wears it, burning in the flames, with figures of dragons and devils in the act of fanning the flames. This costume indicates that the wearer is to be destroyed as an impenitent. If the person is only to do penance, then the *san benito* has on it a cross, and no paintings or flames. If an impenitent is



converted just before being led out, then the *san benito* is painted with the flames downward ; this is called "*fuego repolto*," and it indicates that the wearer has escaped the terrible element. Formerly these garments were hung up in the churches as eternal monuments of disgrace to their wearers, and as the trophies of the inquisition. The *coroza* is a pasteboard cap, three feet high, and ending in a point. On it are likewise painted crosses, flames, and devils. In Spanish America it was customary to add long twisted tails to the *corozas*. Some of the victims have gags in their mouths, of which a number is kept in reserve in case the victims, as they march along in public, should become outrageous, insult the tribunal, or attempt to reveal any secrets.

There was a remarkable custom which prevailed particularly in the inquisition of Spain. On the day before an *auto da fè*, they carried a bush to the place at which the condemned are to be burnt. This has its mysteries ; for the burning and not consuming bush, signifies the inconsumable splendour which burns without perishing. It means also, mercy to the penitent, and rigour to the obdurate. Again, it is intended to represent how the inquisitors defend the vineyard of the church, wounding with the thorns of the bush, and burning with fire, all who bring heresies into the harvest of the Lord's field. Finally, it points out the frowardness of heretics, who are therefore to be

broken like a rugged and contumacious shrub ; because, as its thorns tear the garments of the passers by, so do the heretics, whom it resembles, rend the seamless coat of Christ.

The most memorable auto da fè on record, was celebrated at Madrid, in the year of our Lord 1680, before Charles II. and his queen. It was noised all over the world, and travellers and historians have selected it as the rarest specimen of which the inquisition could boast. A painting of it was made by Francisco Rizzi, and a full description has been given by Jose de Olmo, an eyewitness and a familiar, and who in that capacity had no small share in the whole transaction. The name of the inquisitor general was Don Diego Sarmiento de Valladares, who had been a member of the council of government during the minority of the king, and who thought it a good opportunity of securing the good-will of his master, by exhibiting to him an auto on a splendid scale.

Orders had been sent to the various tribunals to hasten their trials, that the number of criminals might be as large as possible ; and that the concourse of people should be the greater, it was solemnly proclaimed, a month before the time, that on Sunday the thirtieth of June, “ this great triumph of the Catholic faith,” as Olmo calls it, would take place. The public notification ran thus—“ Be it known to all the inhabitants and dwellers in this city of Madrid, the court of his

Majesty present and residing therein, that the holy office of the inquisition celebrates a public auto da fè, in the large square of this said city, on Sunday 30th of June of this present year; and that those graces and indulgences will be granted which the popes have enacted, for all who may accompany and aid in the said auto da fè. This same is ordered to be proclaimed for the information of every one."

The reader naturally pauses upon the selection of the Sabbath-day—the day set apart for rest and religious joy—the day on which all work is suspended, and all public punishments suppressed: and yet this day, revered by so many nations, was the day on which this arrogant tribunal called upon the civil magistrate to dye his hands in human blood, and to profane the solemn season of religious festivity.

Orders were issued for a vast stage or platform to be erected in the principal square, and two hundred and fifty artizans enlisted into the service of the inquisition, under the title of "Soldiers of the Faith," to guard the criminals; eighty-five persons, among whom were grandees and the highest nobility, having solicited and obtained for the occasion the places of familiars to the holy office.

As the day approached, the whole country was alive. On the twenty-eighth of June a preparatory auto, by way of rehearsal, took place, in which the

“soldiers of the faith,” marched in a kind of procession, bearing fagots to the burning-place. They passed the palace, where the monarch receiving an ornamented fagot from the captain, showed it to the queen, and ordered that it should, in his name, be the first cast into the flames; thus imitating Ferdinand, who, on a similar occasion, carried the wood on his own shoulders. On the following afternoon the procession of the two crosses was performed with all solemnity; and, afterwards, the prisoners were all collected together in the secret prisons of the inquisition.

At length came the awful day, so impatiently expected by the multitude, who have ever been found to exult in sanguinary spectacles. At three in the morning the clothes, *san benitos*, and breakfasts were served out to the culprits. At seven the procession moved; and first came the “soldiers of the faith,” who, as pioneers, cleared the way. Next followed the cross of St. Martin, covered with black; then came the prisoners, one hundred and twenty in number—seventy-two women and forty-eight men, of whom some were in effigy. The effigies of those condemned persons who had died or escaped, followed. These effigies have inscriptions, and are sometimes borne on long poles. Then came those who were to do penance, and those who were reconciled; and finally appeared twenty-one miserable beings condemned to burn, each with his *coroza* and *san be-*



nito, and most of them with gags in their mouths, attended by numerous familiars and friars, under the pretence of comforting and exhorting them. Behind the effigy of each culprit was also conveyed boxes containing their books, when any had been seized with them, for the purpose of also being cast into the flames. The courts of the inquisition followed immediately after, with the secretaries, commissaries, and familiars, and among them the two stewards, who carried the sentences of the criminals enclosed in two precious caskets.

Next, on horseback, paraded the sheriffs and other officers of the city, and a long train of familiars on richly caparisoned horses, with inquisitors' habits over their dresses. Then a vast multitude of ecclesiastical ministers, all bearing suitable insignia, and mounted on mules with black trappings. Behind came the mayor and corporation of Madrid, and the fiscal proctor of Toledo, who carried the standard of the faith. Next, the inquisitors of Toledo and Madrid; and lastly, the inquisitor general, on a superb steed magnificently clothed, twelve servants in livery, and an escort of fifty halberdiers, commanded by the marquis de Pobar, whose livery was still more gorgeous. The whole was closed by the sedan chair and coach of the inquisitor general, and a suite of carriages filled with his pages and chaplains. "This triumphant procession," says Olmo, "was performed with wonderful silence; and

though all the houses, squares, and streets were crowded by an immense concourse of people, drawn together from a motive of pious curiosity, scarcely one voice was heard louder than another."

The stage, which had been erected on the side of the great square facing the east, was one hundred and ninety feet long, one hundred broad, and thirteen high, forming a parallelogram with a surface of nineteen thousand square feet, at the two ends of which flights of steps, as wide as the stage itself, were elevated to the second story of the houses. The royal family witnessed the whole scene from a balcony expressly prepared, and the ambassadors of foreign powers had balconies assigned to them. Beneath the stage were prisons for the culprits, and various apartments for refreshments. A vast awning was thrown over the crowd, which occupied all the balconies and houses on the four sides of the great square. This grand piece of machinery was finished in about five days, upon which the historian Olmo says, "It appeared that God moved the hearts of the workmen; a circumstance," he continues, "strongly indicated by sixteen master builders, with their workmen, tools, and materials coming in, unsolicited, to offer their services, and persevered with such zeal and constancy, that without reserving to themselves the customary hours for rest, and taking only the necessary time for food, they returned to their labour with such joy and delight, that, explaining the

cause of their ardour, they exclaimed, ‘ Long live the faith of Jesus Christ ! All shall be ready at the time prescribed ; and if timber should be wanting, we would gladly take our houses to pieces for a purpose so holy as this.’ ”

As soon as the prisoners, the tribunals, and the individuals invited, were settled, the inquisitor general, arrayed in his pontifical robes, took his throne, from which he presently descended, and approaching in the most solemn manner, his majesty administered to him the usual oath, by which he swears to sustain the holy office of the inquisition. Grand mass was then celebrated, and the sermon, which was spoken of and quoted in a former chapter, was delivered.

When the sermon was ended, the reading of the trials and sentences commenced, and lasted for a tedious length of time. Those condemned to death were handed over to the civil authorities, and proceeded to the place of execution. The mass lasted till nine o’clock at night. The patience with which Charles II. endured the fatigue was amazing, for he never quitted his balcony to partake even of refreshment ; and when all was over, he even asked, in a tone of disappointment, if any thing yet remained to be performed.

The burning-place was sixty feet square, and seven feet high, and upon it were twenty stakes with the corresponding rings. Some of the victims were previously strangled, and others at once

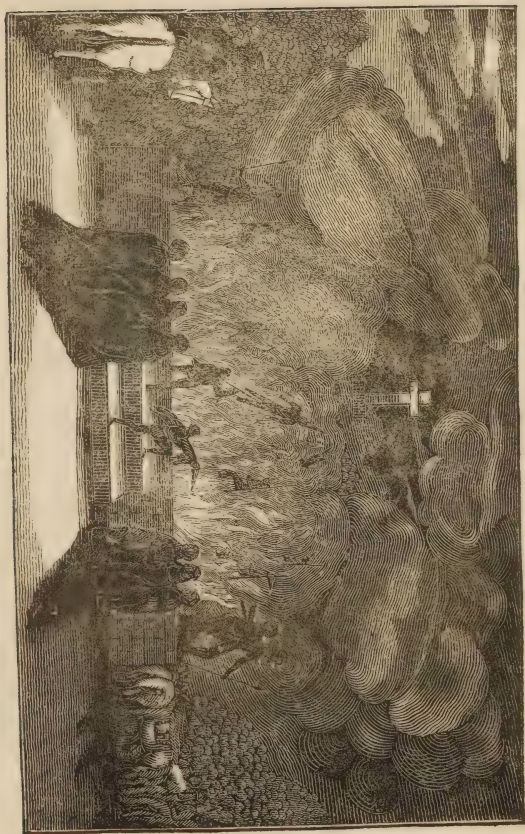
thrown into the fire. The latter, however, in some instances denied the executioners their hellish pleasure, by throwing themselves of their own accord into the flames. The bodies of those who were hanged, and the effigies, and bones of the deceased, were cast in, and more fuel added, till all was converted into ashes, which was about nine in the morning.

Such is a description, though greatly abridged, of this celebrated auto da fè, the largest and most splendid ever known in regard to the number of prisoners, the variety of punishments, and the fact of its having been presided over by three inquisitorial tribunals, one of which was the supreme council, together with the inquisitor general, and attended by all the king's court and grandees.

CHAPTER XII.

The inquisition always hostile to knowledge of every description—Corrupting influence of the inquisition upon the people—The monks—Their condition and influence—Miracles of St. Dominic—The Rosary and worship of the virgin Mary—Anecdote of an inquisitor who read Voltaire's works—Proscription of sciences and authors—Brutish ignorance of inquisitors—Reflections upon the cruelty of the inquisition.

WHEREVER the inquisition prevailed, corruption covered the country as the waters cover the sea. The people were degraded to the lowest condition



by bigotry and fanaticism, and monastic mummeries assumed every possible shape. The common intercourse of life was conducted by a strange perversion of religious language. If a domestic brought lights into a room, he would have been turned out of service if he had neglected to exclaim, "Blessed be the holy sacrament of the altar." If any one sneezed, he was saluted "in the name of Jesus." If it thundered, the people made the sign of the cross, or sprinkled the apartment where they were with holy water. The processions, met at every turn, were distinguished for their absurdities, nay, *impieties*. The populace laughed, sung, and scourged themselves, naked, in the streets, till the blood gushed forth. They carried about figures of the apostles, of wicker work, muffled in huge hempen wigs, with small mirrors at the back, to denote that they knew the past as well as that which was to come. They had colossal images of Christ carried about by men called Nazarenes, penitents, whose coats sometimes dragged forty feet behind them, and he whose coat tail was the longest, was reckoned the most devout. Others again, in most hideous dresses, represented the unfortunate Jews, and were pursued by hisses, groans, curses, and missiles, wherein the spirit of the inquisition was most apparent, which strained every nerve to keep alive the hatred against the unhappy race.

The monks found their account in all these ex-

travagances. They taught the people to place candles on the tombs of their relatives : these were disposed of by the churches.—“ Sprinkle, sprinkle the graves of your parents,” exclaimed the ecclesiastics : “ every drop of holy water extinguishes a blaze of the fire of purgatory.”—This holy water was prepared and sold to the silly people by the churches. On certain days they had public auctions for the benefit of souls in purgatory. The monks ransacked the whole country for offerings to be contributed to the sale, and those who paid highest for the articles exhibited were regarded as the most holy. The money was laid out in buying masses ; which invention, in Spain and Portugal particularly, was a source of inexhaustible revenue. Philip IV. ordered, in his will, that all the priests in the place where he died, should for ever repeat a mass on the day of his decease, for the good of his soul : and besides other provisions of the same kind, he left a fund of money for one hundred thousand masses more, with an express condition, that if, by good fortune, there should be more than was sufficient to procure the entrance of his soul into heaven, the overplus should be turned to the account of those unfortunate souls of whom nobody thinks.

That famous implement of superstition, the rosary, was borrowed by St. Dominic, the founder of the inquisition, from the Moors ; who probably got it from the Hindoos. The Romish church,

says a sensible writer, had established an opinion that prayer was a thing of actual, not relative value; that it was received as currency in the treasury of heaven, where due account was kept; and that credit was given to every soul for all which he had himself placed there, or which had been paid over for his use; for the stock was transferable by gift or purchase. The bead-string was an admirable device upon this principle, if it had been merely for abridging the arithmetic. But the rosary had other advantages. The full rosary consists of one hundred and sixty-five beads; that is, of fifteen decads, with a larger bead at the end of each, which is for the pater noster; the smaller ones being for the aves Marias. It is apparent that if the ave Marias were repeated one hundred and fifty times continuously, the words would necessarily become without thought or feeling, and soon pass into confused and inarticulate sounds; but by this invention, when ten beads have been dropped, the larger one comes opportunely in to jog the memory: sufficient attention is thus awakened to satisfy the conscience of the devotee, and yet no effort, no feeling, no fervor are required; the heart may be asleep and the understanding may wander; the lips and the fingers are all which are needed for this act of most acceptable and most efficient devotion. "It is a means," says an English Catholic, "to kindle and nourish devotion, and with great facility to pray and ob-

tain, by the most effectual intercession of so great an advocate, (as the virgin,) all manner of good and perfect gifts; from which, so fruitful means, should be excluded neither the husbandman in the field, nor the traveller in his journey, nor the labourer with his toiling, nor the simple by his unskilfulness, nor the woman by her sex, nor the aged by their impotency, nor the poor for want of ability, nor the blind for want of sight; a devotion which repugneth to no estate or condition, not requiring more knowledge than to say the pater noster and ave Maria, nor more charge than the price of a pair of beads, nor any choice of place or situation of body, but as it shall like the party, either to stand, sit, lie, walk, or kneel, &c.”

The virgin, they affirmed, was enchanted with this her own form of devotion, and hence she often appeared garlanded with roses, in the proportion of one red to ten white ones. There was no end to the miracles of the rosary. A knight, to whom St. Dominic presented a rosary, arrived at such perfection of piety, that his eyes were opened, and he saw an angel take every bead as he dropped it, and carry it to the queen of heaven, who immediately magnified it, and built with the whole string a palace upon a mountain in Paradise. This was a saint-miracle; a much greater one was vouchsafed to a sinner. A damsel, by name Alexandra, induced by St. Dominic's preaching, used the rosary; but her heart followed too much after

the things of this world : two young men, who were rivals for her, fought, and both fell ; their relations caught her, and, in revenge, cut off her head and threw it into a well. The devil immediately seized her soul, to which it seems he had a clear title ; but for the sake of the rosary the virgin interfered, rescued her soul out of his hands, and gave it permission to remain in the head at the bottom of the well, till it should have an opportunity of confessing and being absolved. After some days this was revealed to St. Dominic, who went to the well and told Alexandra in God's name to come up : the bloody head obeyed, perched on the well-side, confessed its sins, received absolution, took the wafer, and continued to edify the people for two days, when the soul departed, to pass a fortnight in purgatory on its way to heaven. All such nonsense was greedily devoured by the deluded people.

Such was the terror of the inquisition, that the monks held every thing at their will. Every act of tyranny and cruelty was received with profound submission. If a man was ill, two monks, like foul, ill-omened birds, fastened themselves at his bed-side, tormented him in his last moments, living sumptuously all the time, and very often turned to their benefit his worldly property. But their pride and audacity were fully equal to their avarice. If a priest was about to bear the viaticum, the first carriage they met was seized and made use of by

the insolent ecclesiastic ; while the owner, on foot, was forced to fall in with the procession behind.

A list of the books prohibited by the inquisition was published in a huge work, consisting of several folio volumes, by which a new species of study was devised ; it being necessary, previously, to study these works, in order to ascertain what books were not allowed to be studied. Nearly all the great French authors were interdicted. The following anecdote will amuse the reader. A French vessel put into Lisbon : the marquis de Pombal was then minister of Portugal. Some young men belonging to the vessel went on shore, and impelled by curiosity traversed the city, visited the churches, and refreshing themselves after their fatigues at a coffee-house, they permitted their conversation to run with freedom over all they had seen. Some ironical expressions concerning the multitude of monks escaped them, and one went so far as to quote certain satirical lines from Voltaire. They were instantly surrounded, but they fought their way to the boat and escaped, all except one, who was made prisoner. The French ambassador being absent, the consul-general applied to the marquis de Pombal, who declared it was out of his power to interfere, and he advised the consul to wait on the grand inquisitor. He did so, again and again. His highness, the grand inquisitor, always eluded his visit. The consul then ordered his state coach, and, with official ceremony and pomp, he repaired

to the inquisitor's palace, and demanded audience in the name of the king of France. On his entrance, the inquisitor was loud and resolute against the enlargement of the youth, repeating the terrible words heresy, atheism, philosophy, and "Voltaire, whose very name," he said, "was blasphemy." The consul reasoned and remonstrated, but all appeared in vain, till at last the inquisitor, leading the consul into a private room, and closing the door, made the consul swear in the most solemn manner, not to betray what he was about to say. Being assured on this subject, he frankly confessed to the consul, that he was totally ignorant of the works of Voltaire, and that he had the greatest curiosity to read them. The consul seized so favourable a chance, and immediately had a complete set of Voltaire's works conveyed secretly to the inquisition. Several days elapsed, when the consul again applied for the liberation of the prisoner, who never would have been freed, if the grand inquisitor had not been threatened by the consul. The inquisitor being thus exposed to such imminent danger, as would have followed upon the scandal of Voltaire's works being promulgated, hastened to comply with the consul's desire, and at his own earnest entreaty, the whole affair was kept a secret for several years.

"Science and the inquisition," says Puigblanch, "in no country ever enjoyed long, at least, a peaceful dwelling together: the former soon declines

and degenerates wherever the latter is indigenous and successfully thrives. The earth itself, over which its malignant shade spreads and darkens, loses its fecundity in consequence of the tainted effluvia issuing from its trunks and boughs, as well as the poisoned juices which circulate around its root!"

Medicine could not flourish in a country where the monks were able to persuade a bigoted and brutish people, that saints, and miracles, and masses would cure all diseases; and where, to employ a physician instead of invoking a saint, might be considered heresy. Every thing tending to illuminate mankind, promote civilization, or benefit society, was proscribed by the inquisition.

Besides theology, philosophy, and politics, sciences of first importance in a state, polite literature, and the dead languages, have been hated with a deadly hatred by these malignant despots. One reason of the odium in which the old languages were held, was, that it was a study to which the reformers and the protestants applied themselves, so that in the eyes of inquisitors, he who read a Bible in the original tongues, was deemed a Lutheran or a Jew.

A volume were insufficient to enumerate the sciences which were proscribed, and the individuals eminent in them, who have suffered. Artists, navigators, schoolmasters, and even handicraftsmen have incurred the vengeance of the inquisi-

tion, and been entangled in its accursed toils. "Great God," exclaims Nebrija, one of the restorers of Spanish literature, who incurred the displeasure of the inquisition for some grammatical criticisms upon the Latin translation of the Bible called the Vulgate, "what slavery is this? What iniquitous oppression, which, under the title of piety, does not permit me to manifest my way of thinking, in matters by no means injurious to the faith? What! Did I say manifest? nay, that does not even allow me to write down my opinion for my own use, and within the secrecy of my own closet; not even to utter it within my teeth, or make it the subject of my meditations."

If science and authors have been treated so badly, it is not astonishing to find that the writings themselves have shared a similar fate. In the celebrated index of prohibited books, alluded to above, may be found the works of Bacon, and Locke, and even Milton's *Paradise Lost*; indeed there is scarce a book of merit which does not make its appearance either as totally forbidden, or condemned in particular parts. This mad stupidity was carried into the new world, where the fatal zeal of the fanatical Zumarraga, first bishop of Mexico, is the subject of lamentation to every enlightened person, who has either read or written concerning that interesting region. All the symbolical writings and monuments of the Mexicans, which that inquisitor

could lay his hands upon, perished, under the absurd notion that they were diabolical works, and savouring of heresy. Another inquisitor, Cisneros, in Spain, it is said committed to the flames as many as eighty thousand volumes of Arabian works, many of the most valuable works at that time extant in all sciences, being in the Arabic language. One book on stenography, or the art of writing by cyphers, was condemned by the inquisition as a book upon magic: and in the same celebrated index appears under condemnation, "A book printed in octavo, in forty-four pages, in Hebrew letters, in Venice, 1764, by Christopher Ambrosini." Here the inquisitors who condemned this book, did not actually know what it was about!

But besides obstructing science in every way, the inquisition has promoted error under every imaginable form. It has arrogated infallibility to itself, by attempting to identify its name with that of the church, and of religion. "We, the apostolical inquisitors, &c." is their style. The belief in witches and magic was one of their errors which was a copious source of cruelty. Facts crowd upon the mind, but the limits of this work forbid entering fully upon this opening field. One other error will be mentioned, which was cherished, and sustained with infinite care, and that was, the supremacy of the church, and of its ministers, even in temporal matters, over nations—an error

of the first magnitude, and one that was carried to such an extreme, that in one of its edicts it proclaimed that kings derived their power and authority from God, and that the people were bound to believe this with *divine faith*, denouncing, at the same time, those philosophers as heretics who taught the sovereignty of the people. This error, in the literal sense in which it was meant, must appear monstrous indeed to every American, in whose country, blessed of God, the sovereignty of the people is one of the first principles; to deny which, would be as absurd as to deny, in mathematics, that the whole is greater than a part. Such are a few of the errors of the holy inquisition, a tribunal which is called by one of its writers, “a column of truth; the guardian of the faith, treasure of the Christian religion, light against the deceptions of the enemy, and touchstone on which the purity of the doctrine is tried to discover whether it be true or whether it be false.”

The horrid scenes which the autos da fè created all over the earth, almost stagger belief. In reflecting, says Puigblanch, on the cruelty of these autos, it seems as if I beheld the triumph of the savages of Canada over some of their prisoner enemies. On one of the latter they brutally satiate their rage: bound to a pole, they raise him up on high, tear down his flesh by mouthfuls, cut away his members one by one, and in the mean time the

victim, without expressing pain, though foaming with rage, breathing defiance, and presenting the spectacle of all the furious passions of the human soul, provokes and mocks his executioners with irritating reproaches, urging them to the torture, while he glories in the triumph of having overcome them in ferocity. Cases of a similar character have really and frequently been witnessed in the autos of the inquisition. To show that there is no exaggeration in the picture, read the following description from Garau, of what he beheld at an auto where he officiated as a minister. It was at an auto in Majorca, in 1691. Thirty-four culprits were delivered to the flames after being hanged, and three were burnt alive, as impenitent Jews. Their names were Raphael Valls, Raphael Terongi, and Catherine Terongi. "On seeing the flames near them," says the Jesuit Garau, "they began to show the greatest fury, struggling to free themselves from the ring to which they were bound, which Terongi at length effected, although he could no longer hold himself upright, and he fell side-long on the fire. Catherine, as soon as the flames began to encircle her, screamed out repeatedly for them to withdraw her from thence, although uniformly persisting not to invoke the name of Jesus. On the flames touching Valls, he covered himself, resisted and struggled as long as he was able: being fat, he took fire in his inside

in such a manner that before the flames had entwined around him, his flesh burnt like a coal, and, bursting in the middle, his entrails fell out."

It is now time to draw this melancholy history to a close, which will be done by a quotation from Salgado, a converted Spanish priest, who wrote a short description of that tribunal, entitled, "The Slaughter-house," in the reign of Charles II. of England. "The inquisition," says he, "is subject to no laws, but arbitrarily racks souls, and murders bodies, of which there are a cloud of witnesses—men condemned because the inquisition would be cruel. What blasphemy in this tribunal, ever to pretend to be actuated by a divine impulse, where every brick seems a conjuring shell, and every officer a tormenting fiend! for suppose we a Jew, a Mahometan, a Christian in their hands, what do they pretend to do with such a one? Would they chastise him? What need have they then of so many officers? Why such scandalous methods as a secret chamber, an unseen tribunal, invisible witnesses, a perfidious secretary, and merciless servants: confiscation of goods through fraud and guile, keepers as hard-hearted as the relentless walls, the fiscal mutes, the shameful san benitos, unrighteous racks, a theatre filled with horror to astonish the prisoner, a hypocritical sentence, a disguised executioner, and a peremptory judgment? In all the times of Paganism no such

Roman tribunal was ever erected. In their amphitheatres men had not quite put off humanity : those condemned to die were exposed to wild beasts to be torn in pieces ; they knew their executioners ; but here the condemned are tormented by disguised ones :—men they should be by their shapes, but devils by their fierceness and cruelty.”

THE END.

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